Anglo~Norman Studies

XXXI. PROCEEDINGS OF
THE BATTLE CONFERENCE 2008

Edited by C. P. LEWIS

ANGLO-NORMAN STUDIES XXXI

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BATTLE CONFERENCE

2008

The contemporary historians of Anglo-Norman England form a particular focus of this issue. There are contributions on Henry of Huntingdon's representation of civil war; on the political intent of the poems in the anonymous Life of Edward the Confessor; on William of Malmesbury's depiction of Henry I; and on the influence upon historians of the late antique history attributed to Hegesippus. A paper on Gerald of Wales and Merlin brings valuable literary insights to bear. Other pieces tackle religious history (northern monasteries during the Anarchy, the abbey of Tiron) and politics (family history across the Conquest, the Norman brothers Urse de Abetot and Robert Dispenser, the friendship network of King Stephen's family). The volume begins with Judith Green's Allen Brown Memorial Lecture, which provides a wide-ranging account of kingship, lordship, and community in eleventh-century England.

C. P. Lewis is Reader in History at the University of London Institute of Historical Research and VCH Editor for Sussex.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of

IAN GEORGE PEIRCE

(† 11 November 2008)

ANGLO-NORMAN STUDIES

XXXI

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BATTLE CONFERENCE

2008

Edited by C. P. Lewis

THE BOYDELL PRESS

First published 2009
The Boydell Press, Woodbridge

ISBN 978–1–84383–473–1

ISSN 0954-9927
Anglo-Norman Studies

(Formerly ISSN 0261-9857: Proceedings of the Battle Conference
on Anglo-Norman Studies)

The Boydell Press is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Great Britain by
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, AND TABLES

EDITOR'S PREFACE

The 31st annual Battle Conference was held at its customary venue, Pyke House in Battle, from 24 to 28 July 2008. All the papers read during the conference are printed here. They include the Allen Brown Memorial Lecture, honouring the conference's founder, which was delivered on the first evening by Professor Judith Green of the University of Edinburgh, once an undergraduate pupil of Allen's. The lecture is supported by the R. Allen Brown Memorial Trust, a registered charity. The opening reception and the lecture were held at Battle abbey by kind permission of the headmaster of Battle Abbey School. The Trust welcomed a group of local historians and others from Battle and district to the event. Further information about the Battle Conference can be seen at www.battleconference.com.

The outing on Saturday 26 July ventured into West Sussex on a delightfully sunny day, taking in the churches at Lyminster, Burpham, and Poling, and lunching at the George & Dragon, Burpham, adjacent to one of King Alfred's *burh*s. The landlord and his staff provided excellent hospitality, all the more impressive given that they were also serving a large wedding party. The incumbents, churchwardens, and church helpers at all three churches are warmly thanked for their obliging help. Carol Davidson Cragoe and Chris Lewis led the tour. Back at Pyke House there were displays of new books by Boydell & Brewer, Oxford University Press, and Shaun Tyas, all of whom are thanked for adding much to the interest of the conference.

Many people at Boydell & Brewer help to see the annual volume through the press, and the editor – on behalf of authors and readers alike – thanks them all. The key to timely publication has once again been Caroline Palmer's tactful persistence in extracting the typescript and disk from the editor at just the right moment. Her cheerful presence at the conference itself also adds much to the atmosphere.

While this volume was in preparation, the conference's longest-standing friend and supporter at Battle, Ian Peirce, died suddenly and at no great age on 11 November 2008. Ian taught and lived locally, had deep roots in the area around Battle, and was involved in the Battle Conference from its foundation by Allen Brown in 1978. Year after year he helped a succession of directors run the Pyke House conferences, besides leading innumerable tours of the battlefield and showing items from his extensive collection of medieval arms and armour. His good cheer made every newcomer to the conference welcome, and his many friends among the global network of Battlers mourn his passing with great sorrow.

Chris Lewis

ABBREVIATIONS

AD	*Archives départementales*
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies*
ASC	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, cited by year (corrected in square brackets if necessary) and manuscript; unless otherwise stated the edition is *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. Charles Plummer, 2 vols, Oxford, 1892–9
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BL	London, British Library
Cal. Chart. R.	*Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, 6 vols, HMSO 1903–27
Carmen	*The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy, Bishop of Amiens*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow, Oxford 1999
CDF	*Calendar of Documents preserved in France, Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, I, A.D. 918–1206*, ed. J. Horace Round, HMSO 1899
Chronicles, ed. Howlett	*Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, 4 vols, RS 82, 1884–9
Complete Peerage	G. E. C[okayne], *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, new edn by Vicary Gibbs and others, 12 vols, London 1910–59
Ctl.	*Cartulary*
Delisle, *Recueil*	*Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, 4 vols and separate *Introduction*, Paris 1906–27
Dialogus de Scaccario	Richard fitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario: The Dialogue of the Exchequer*, ed. and trans. Emilie Amt, and *Constitutio Domus Regis: Disposition of the King's Household*, ed. and trans. S. D. Church, Oxford 2007
Eadmer, *HN*	Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, in *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia, et Opuscula Duo: De Vita Sancti Anselmi et Quibusdam Miraculis Ejus*, ed. Martin Rule, RS 81, 1884
EcHR	*Economic History Review*
EHD I	*English Historical Documents, c. 500–1042*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn, London 1979
EHD II	*English Historical Documents, 1042–1189*, ed. David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway, 2nd edn, London 1981
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
EYC	*Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. C. T. Clay, 10 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1935–65

Farrer, *EYC*	W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, 3 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1914–16
Gaimar	Gaimar, *L'Estorie des Engleis*, ed. Alexander Bell, Anglo-Norman Text Society 14–16, 1960
GDB	Great Domesday Book, followed by folio number, a or b (for recto or verso), and 1 or 2 (for the column), cited from *Domesday Book, seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi*, 2 vols, London 1783, I, or from *Great Domesday Book: Library Edition*, ed. Ann Williams and R. W. H. Erskine, Alecto Historical Editions, London 1986–92; followed in parentheses by the abbreviated county name and the entry number (substituting an oblique for a comma between the first and second parts) used in *Domesday Book*, ed. John Morris and others, 34 vols, Phillimore, London 1974–86
Gesta Stephani	*Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. K. R. Potter and R. H. C. Davis, Oxford 1976
Giraldi Cambrensis Opera	*Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, James F. Dimock, and George F. Warner, 8 vols, RS 21, 1861–91
Harmer, *AS Writs*	F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 2nd edn, Stamford 1989
HSJ	*Haskins Society Journal*
Huntingdon	Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway, Oxford 1996
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
John of Worcester	*The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, II–III, Oxford 1995–8
Jumièges	*The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 2 vols, Oxford 1992–5
LDB	Little Domesday Book, followed by folio number and a or b (for recto or verso), cited from *Domesday Book, seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi*, 2 vols, London 1783, II, or from *Little Domesday Book: Library Edition*, ed. Ann Williams, Alecto Historical Editions, London 2000; followed in parentheses by the abbreviated county name and the entry number (substituting an oblique for a comma between the first and second parts) used in *Domesday Book*, ed. John Morris and others, 34 vols, Phillimore, London 1974–86
Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, 2 vols, Oxford 2007
Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, Oxford 1998–9
Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*	William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella: The Contemporary History*, ed. Edmund King, trans. K. R. Potter, Oxford 1998
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica

ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; online at <www.oxforddnb.com>
Orderic	*The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols, Oxford, 1969–80
P&P	*Past & Present*
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols, Paris 1844–65
Poitiers	*The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. and trans. R. H. C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall, Oxford 1998
PR	*The Great Roll of the Pipe for [regnal year, king]*, Pipe Roll Society, except for *31 Henry I*, HMSO 1929; *2–4 Henry II*, ed. Joseph Hunter, London 1844; *1 Richard I*, ed. Joseph Hunter, London 1844; *26 Henry III*, ed. Henry Louis Cannon, London 1918
RADN	*Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, ed. Marie Fauroux, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie 36, Caen 1961
Regesta II	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1154, II: 1100–1135*, ed. Charles Johnson and H. A. Cronne, Oxford 1956
Regesta III	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1154, III: 1135–1154*, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis, Oxford 1968
Regesta: William I	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. David Bates, Oxford 1998
Robertson, *AS Charters*	*Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. and trans. A. J. Robertson, Cambridge 1939
RS	Rolls Series (Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, Published under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls)
S	P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, London 1968
s.a.	*sub anno, annis* (‘under the year, years’)
Symeonis Monachi Opera	*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 2 vols, RS 75, 1882–5
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
VCH	*The Victoria History of the Counties of England* [with county name], in progress
Whitelock, *AS Wills*	*Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. and trans. Dorothy Whitelock, Cambridge 1930
×	[The form 1066 × 1087 indicates an uncertain date within the range]

R. Allen Brown Memorial Lecture

KINGSHIP, LORDSHIP, AND COMMUNITY IN ELEVENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Judith Green

It was with great pleasure that I accepted the Director's kind invitation to give the annual Allen Brown Lecture on this, the thirty-first anniversary of the foundation of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies.[1] In so doing I can pay tribute to Allen's commitment to teaching, which set me on my first steps to becoming a medievalist. It is very hard now to recall the essence of his lectures to undergraduates at King's College, London. However, I have a memory of Allen's arrival on one occasion in a cloak and a sword, to lecture on medieval England, with an engagement that made one feel that this was the only kind of history worth studying. Like many undergraduates in the 1960s, I had arrived at university with no serious knowledge of the Middle Ages, and, in my case, an idea of studying the English Reformation. However, here was someone who managed to convey a sense of the vitality and importance, and above all, perhaps the sheer glamour of the Middle Ages. I was instantly converted. Allen lectured with the passion of the committed, not so much in style, but in drily delivered comments on the need to reassert the importance of the Normans' contribution to eleventh-century Europe, of the way they were bang up to date with their methods of warfare, whilst the English, alas, were using outdated methods and only excelled at arts such as needlework. In the 1960s Constitutional History was still taught at King's, based on Stubbs's *Select Charters*.[2] By that time it was an optional course, so it was a small group which assembled each week to hear Allen expound Stubbs to the clock on the back wall as the class took notes (I still have mine). The memory which again comes back over the years is of his ability to make his subject – the perennial problem of the untrustworthy man in the Anglo-Saxon village, or whatever it was – to be the thing that mattered most. He opened a door into the medieval centuries, and for that I, as so many others, will always be grateful.

At the time Allen was developing his ideas about the Normans in teaching and in *The Normans and the Norman Conquest*,[3] a great deal of exciting research into Anglo-Saxon history was going on, and he clearly felt a sense that too much credit, as it were, was being given to the strength, sophistication, and cohesiveness of English society, if the result of that emphasis was to downplay the importance of

1 The ideas in this paper were first aired in my inaugural lecture at the University of Edinburgh, and I should like to thank Stuart Airlie, Eberhard Sauer, and Jenny Wormald for their helpful comments on that occasion.

2 *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First*, ed. W. Stubbs, 9th edn rev. H. W. C. Davis, Oxford 1913.

3 London 1969.

what happened in 1066. In a sense, that trend in scholarship has grown stronger,[4] and only recently has begun to be challenged.[5] By the eleventh century there was an Anglo-Saxon state whose agents, in the form of reeves and sheriffs, were far-reaching; which was capable of mobilizing, year on year, immense sums of money;[6] and whose kings issued ambitious programmes of legislation.[7] In the process of extending their rule, they made grand claims about an overarching authority as kings of the English or even, in the case of Æthelstan, kings of Britain.[8] Such claims were not mere propaganda, because they were rooted in general oaths of allegiance which established a paramount loyalty overriding that to kin and lord.[9]

Moreover, it has been maintained that although the Anglo-Saxon state and nation came under severe pressure in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, the basic apparatus of royal power and a sense of belonging to an English nation survived the upheavals. Contests for the throne necessitated accommodation with great men, but did not destroy the unity of the English kingdom. There were inevitably innovations in royal government. Accommodation had to be made for the Danish followers of King Cnut and William the Conqueror's Normans, but the powers of kingship were not destroyed. Many would argue they became even stronger as the old regime came under new management. Eleventh-century kings uncertain on their thrones emphasized tradition and continuity, promoted their own authority, and sought to work with churchmen. The ideological legacy of the Anglo-Saxon kings, their claims to over-kingship over the whole of Britain and even of the British Isles, was embraced, especially by the Norman kings. Fresh efforts were made to push into Wales and the north-west of England, and by the later eleventh century the Normans were pressing hard upon their neighbours in Wales and Scotland.[10]

In tandem with the rise of the Anglo-Saxon state was the sense of belonging to an English nation. This sense of Englishness, identified by Pope Gregory and promoted by Bede, shaped political consciousness, and was continued and developed further by Alfred and his successors.[11] In the early eleventh century for one author, that of

4 The key works here are those by James Campbell and Patrick Wormald, cited below. See also A.P. Smyth, 'The Emergence of English Identity, 700–1100', in *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. P. Smyth, Basingstoke 1998, 24–52.

5 S. Foot, 'The Making of *Angelcynn*: English Identity before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS* 6th series 6, 1996, 25–49; eadem, 'The Historiography of the Anglo-Saxon "Nation-State"', in *Power and the Nation in European History*, ed. L. Scales and O. Zimmer, Cambridge 2005, 125–42.

6 See the papers reprinted in J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State*, London 2000, especially 'The Late Anglo-Saxon State: A Maximum View', 'The United Kingdom of England: The Anglo-Saxon Achievement', and 'Some Agents and Agencies of The late Anglo-Saxon State'.

7 See especially the work of Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century,* I: *Legislation and its Limits*, Oxford 1999; idem, 'Giving God and King their Due: Conflict and its Regulation in the Early English State', in *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli IX–XI)*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 44, 1997, I, 549–83.

8 E. John, '"Orbis Britanniae" and the Anglo-Saxon Kings', in *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies*, Leicester 1966, 1–63.

9 P. Wormald, 'Oaths', in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, and D. Scragg, Oxford 1999, 338–9.

10 R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343*, Oxford 2000.

11 P. Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. P. Wormald with D. Bullough and R. Collins, Oxford 1983, 99–129; idem, '*Engla Lond*: The Making of an Allegiance', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 7, 1994, 1–24; some of Wormald's articles have been edited by S. Baxter, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian*, Oxford 2006, including 'The Venerable Bede and the "Church of the English"', 207–28, with a postscript in which the author discusses some points raised by others about his hypothesis of the creation of England and of the English

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D, 'English' was used to highlight 'us' at a time of renewed external attack, and a similar usage is found in his account of 1065–6.[12] That sense of nationhood proved capable of taking on board the arrival of first the Danes and then the Normans, and re-emerged in the twelfth century.[13] In the great wave of historical writing which gained momentum from the late eleventh century, external invaders were simply worked into the story of the history of the English. Monastic writers were driven in part by the challenge to their communities represented by the Norman Conquest.[14] Some saw 1066 as a more important turning point than others. At Worcester and Durham, where the framework used for their chronicles was chronological, based as they were on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the break came at the year's end: 1066 succeeded 1065.[15]

Three twelfth-century authors were more ambitious. William of Malmesbury ended the first book of the *Deeds of the Kings of the English* with the union of the 'four kingdoms of Britain [Wessex, Northumbria, Mercia, and Kent] into one',[16] under Ecgberht, king of Wessex; the second book ended in 1066. His account of the Norman period, instead of following a chronological structure, was organized round Suetonian ruler-portraits.[17] Henry of Huntingdon in his *History of the English* saw the English as suffering from five plagues: Romans, Picts and Scots, English, Danes, and Normans, 'who dominate the English at the present day'.[18] His history of the Norman Conquest began in the year 1000, with Æthelred's plan to marry Emma. Æthelred 'recognized his own and his people's weakness', and feared that they would be punished for their sins. This in fact happened through God's agency, since on the one hand the power of the Danes was growing, and on the other, even if the English escaped the Danes, they would fall into the hands of the Normans.[19] Gaimar, the author of the first history of the English written in French, gave a lot of space to the Danes, a priority which reflected the interests of his audience. Gaimar's patron, Ralph FitzGilbert, was based in Lincolnshire, and Gaimar shows an interest in stories relating to that part of the world, such as that of Havelock the Dane, a legendary king of Lindsey, and of Hereward.[20] In other words, and without going too far into historiography, which is not my purpose here, 1066 was set within

people; N. Brooks, 'English Identity from Bede to the Millennium', *HSJ* 14, 2003, 33–51; J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values*, Woodbridge 2000; L. Ashe, *Fiction and History in England, 1066–1200*, Cambridge 2007; R. M. Stein, *Reality Fictions: Romance, History, and Governmental Authority*, *1025–1180*, Notre Dame IN 2006, chapter 2.

12 P. Stafford, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, Identity and the Making of England', *HSJ* 19, 2007, 28–50, at 34–7.

13 A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, Woodbridge 1995, 164–86; H. M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066–c. 1220*, Oxford 2003, chapter 2.

14 R. W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing, IV: The Sense of the Past', *TRHS* 5th series 23, 1973, 243–63; J. Campbell, 'Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', *Peritia* 3, 1984, 131–50.

15 John of Worcester, II, 598–9; *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 179 (based on John of Worcester).

16 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 16–17, 152–3.

17 J. G. Haahr, 'The Concept of Kingship in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and *Historia Novella*', *Mediaeval Studies* 38, 1976, 351–71; B. Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury on Kingship', *History* 90, 2005, 3–22.

18 Huntingdon, 14–15.

19 Ibid. 338–9.

20 A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, London 1974, 209–10; A. Bell, 'Gaimar's Early "Danish" Kings', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 65, 1950, 601–40; S. Kleinman, 'The Legend of Havelok the Dane and the Historiography of East Anglia', *Studies in Philology* 100, 2003, 245–77. My thanks to John Gillingham for these references.

the context of English history. In the fullness of time, Normans and English were assimilated, and a single English nation emerged.

The precocity of an Anglo-Saxon state and the idea of England and the English have fed into wider debates about state development and nationalism. Were there states and nations in pre-modern times and, if so, of what kind?[21] It has been pointed out that those who argue for their precocious development in Anglo-Saxon England are tacitly (or not so tacitly) underscoring the point that there was something different and special about English society. A belief in the early and continuous development of state and nation has reanimated ideas about the continuity of English history, a kind of neo-Whiggism, if you like. These ideas have inevitably conditioned our approach to eleventh-century England, focusing on political upheavals at the highest level, on 'strong' and 'weak' kings, and on arguments about continuity and change after 1066.

There is no doubt that Anglo-Saxon kingship was, by the standards of tenth- and eleventh-century Europe, both highly centralized and precociously developed. Most striking, perhaps, are the use of documents[22] and the sophisticated coinage. Documents issued in the king's name were either drawn up in a royal writing office, or were subject to a degree of oversight.[23] The use of documents was widespread in royal government, and the employment of written orders (writs) by the eleventh century marked a breakthrough in relations between the centre and the localities.[24] A second noteworthy feature of English kingship was its control of the coinage. Remarkable progress has been made in studying mints, issues, and moneyers, and nothing has emerged to dent the fact that English kings retained their monopoly of coinage, and that it was of a very high standard.[25] There may have been an element of luck here in the combination of the king's control of boroughs, the amount of silver in circulation, and the country's potential for economic growth, but the sophistication of the system is nevertheless striking.[26]

However, when we turn to other aspects of English monarchy, the case for centralization becomes less convincing. The concentration of royal lands in the South, and, partly as a result, the greater amount of time English kings spent there,

21 See the essays cited above, n. 5.

22 M. Clanchy, 'The Norman Conquest and Anglo-Saxon Literacy', paper delivered at the Anglo-American Conference of Historians, 2008. I should like to thank Prof. Clanchy for discussing this subject with me and for providing me with an advance copy of his paper.

23 The debate about whether or not there was an Anglo-Saxon chancery lasted some time. The current view is that if not a chancery, with its connotations of bureaucracy, there was a central overview of documents issued in the king's name. See especially S. Keynes, 'Royal Government and the Written Word in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick, Cambridge 1990, 226–57. For a regional study, see C. Insley, 'Charters and Episcopal Scriptoria in the Anglo-Saxon South-West', *EME* 7, 1998, 173–97.

24 R. Sharpe, 'The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century', *ASE* 32, 2003, 247–91.

25 D. M. Metcalf, 'Continuity and Change in English Monetary History *c.* 973–1086, Part 1', *British Numismatic Journal* 50, 1980, 20–49; 'Part 2', ibid. 51, 1981, 52–90; I. Stewart, 'Coinage and Recoinage after Edgar's Reform', in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, ed. K. Jonsson, Numismatiska Meddelander 35, Stockholm 1990, 455–85; M. Blackburn, 'Æthelred's Coinage and the Payment of Tribute', in *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. D. Scragg, Oxford 1991, 156–69; K. Jonsson, 'The Coinage of Cnut', in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A. R. Rumble, London 1994, 193–230.

26 For the argument that demands for tribute and wages for Danish soldiers may have resulted in more demand for silver coins, with the effect of stimulating production, see S. R. H. Jones, 'Devaluation and the Balance of Payments in Eleventh-Century England: An Exercise in Dark Age Economics', *EcHR* 44, 1991, 594–607; idem, 'Transaction Costs, Institutional Change, and the Emergence of a Market Economy in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *EcHR* 46, 1993, 658–78.

are clear enough. Much of northern England was not shired; only York had a royal mint, and there is no sign of a sheriff before 1066, even in Yorkshire.[27] That is not to say that the North was not governed, only that the kings' relations with the North were different from those with Wiltshire or Hampshire, for instance.[28] Kings issued legislative programmes for all their people(s), but the *idea* that there were different laws for different regions, Wessex, Mercia, and the Danelaw, persisted into the twelfth century.[29] Men and women had to engage with legal process to make it work, and, hampered by an uneven distribution of the surviving sources, we have relatively little evidence of royal justice in action in the Midlands and the North. This is not to say that there was no justice there, merely that conflict resolution may not have involved much input from the king or his agents.[30]

Moreover, concepts of national identity are problematic, in that the rise of a powerful English monarchy overlaid, but did not destroy, older identities. Particularly in regions remote from royal authority, these remained important. Cornwall, for instance, was 'subjugated' (William of Malmesbury's phrase) by King Ecgberht of Wessex in the ninth century.[31] However, the nature of the relationship between the kings of, first, Wessex, and then England, towards their western neighbours evolved slowly, and over a much longer period. Anglo-Saxon settlement was thickest in the east of Cornwall, and by 1066 the top layer of Cornish society was in English hands.[32] The local churches of the early Middle Ages were slowly brought into line with ecclesiastical organization in the rest of England.[33] The county for a time had its own bishopric, but was finally incorporated into the see of Crediton (later Exeter).[34] Some of the many local churches evolved into collegiate churches and then, in the early twelfth century, were used to endow Augustinian priories.[35] Continuing links with Brittany and north-west France were renewed by the grant of St Michael's Mount to Mont-Saint-Michel in the early eleventh century.[36] William

27 If there was a sheriff before 1066, the likeliest candidate is Copsi, who was said to have ruled Northumbria under Tostig, but there is no indication that he was the king's sheriff, Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie: Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham*, ed. and trans. D. Rollason, Oxford 2000, 180–1 and n. 56.

28 The classic discussion remains that by D. Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes, London 1959, 70–88.

29 *Leges Henrici Primi*, ed. and trans. L. J. Downer, Oxford 1972, cc. 6, 2; 9, 10 (pp. 96–7, 106–7).

30 P. Hyams, 'Feud and the State in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of British Studies* 40, 2001, 1–43; cf. Wormald, 'Giving God and King their Due'.

31 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 152–3; I. Soulsby, *A History of Cornwall*, Chichester 1986.

32 Insley, 'Charters and Episcopal Scriptoria', 174–9; idem, 'Athelstan, Charters and the English in Cornwall', in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. M. T. Flanagan and J. A. Green, Basingstoke 2005, 15–31; W. G. Hoskins, *The Westward Expansion of Wessex*, Leicester 1960; S. M. Pearce, *The Kingdom of Dumnonia: Studies in History and Tradition in South-Western Britain, A.D. 350–1150*, Padstow 1978.

33 S. Turner, 'Making a Christian Landscape: Early Medieval Cornwall', in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, ed. M. Carver, York 2003, 171–93; L. Olson, *Early Monasteries in Cornwall*, Woodbridge 1989; *Unity and Variety: A History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall*, ed. N. Orme, Exeter 1991, chapter 1.

34 Insley, 'Charters and Episcopal Scriptoria', 176; F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066*, London 1963, 211–12.

35 K. Jankulak, *The Medieval Cult of St Petroc*, Woodbridge 2000, chapter 2. For Launceston see *The Cartulary of Launceston Priory*, ed. P. L. Hull, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series 30, 1987, no. 5; for Bodmin, J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*, London 1950, 118–19.

36 *The Cartulary of St Michael's Mount*, ed. P. L. Hull, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series 5, 1962, xii–xv, nos. 2–5; *Regesta: William I*, no. 213 (pp. 664–71).

the Conqueror's initial plan may indeed have been to give the county to Breton lords. We hear of Count Brian[37] and then Earl Ralph,[38] but after the expulsion of the latter in 1075, most of the land not in the hands of the church was given to Robert of Mortain.[39] By 1086 many of his estates were in the hands of undertenants, of whom a surprising number were English, a handful Breton, and the remainder Norman. Reginald de Vautorte, his tenant in Normandy, had built a castle at Trematon, and at Dunheved near Launceston another castle had been established. However, the newcomers formed only a thin veneer over Cornish society, and local traditions and language remained strong.[40] When the great story of King Arthur took off in the twelfth century, his birthplace was located at Tintagel.[41]

Moving from the south-west to the south-east, Kent is another county with a long history of distinctive customs.[42] Management of land had particular characteristics in the form of detached portions of woodland called denns. It is not clear how old these were, and it has been suggested that they may go back even before Roman times.[43] Local custom for inheritance of land was different: here there was gavelkind, or ultimogeniture.[44] The shire was assessed differently for danegeld, by sulungs, not by hides or carucates,[45] and it was never subjected to forest law. According to a tradition which seems to go back to William of Poitiers, the men of Canterbury were allowed to keep their customs because they freely submitted to William the Conqueror.[46] Kentish society could hardly fail to be affected by the dominance of the great ecclesiastical landlords, of whom the archbishop of Canterbury and the abbey of St Augustine's were the wealthiest. Thanks to the survival of documents from their archives, it has been possible for Ann Williams to identify thegns who were at the heart of Kentish society.[47] She points out that had there been

37 A charter of Count Alan of Brittany for Mont-Saint-Michel referred to Count Brian as his predecessor, *Cartulary of St Michael's Mount*, no. 5. This was presumably the Count Brian who was fighting in western England against the sons of Harold Godwinson, ASC 1067 D; Orderic, II, 224–5.

38 Ralph the Staller had held Tybesta in Cornwall before the Conquest, GDB 121b1 (Cornw. 5.1/6). Earl Ralph, Ralph the Staller's son, received land in Norfolk in exchange for his land in Cornwall, presumably Tybesta, LDB 134a–b (Norf. 1/201).

39 Soulsby, *History of Cornwall*, 33.

40 Insight into the fortunes of one family in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is provided by the reminiscences of Peter of Cornwall, for which see P. Hull and R. Sharpe, 'Peter of Cornwall and Launceston', *Cornish Studies* 13, 1985, 5–53.

41 O. J. Padel, 'The Cornish Background to the Tristan Stories', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 1, Summer 1981, 53–81.

42 The classic account remains A. Everitt, *Continuity and Colonization: The Evolution of Kentish Settlement*, Leicester 1986.

43 K. P. Witney, *The Jutish Forest: A Study of the Weald of Kent from 450 to 1380*, London 1976, especially chapters 4 and 5; C. Wickham, 'European Forests in the Early Middle Ages: Landscape and Land Clearance', in *L'ambiente vegetale nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 37, 1990, II, 502–9.

44 E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 2nd edn, 12 vols, Canterbury 1797–1801, I, 311–21.

45 F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, Cambridge 1897, 484–5.

46 Poitiers, 144–5: the men of Canterbury of their own accord went to meet William not far from Dover. Cf. J. C. Holt, 'The Origins of the Constitutional Tradition in England', in his *Magna Carta and Medieval Government*, London 1985, 1–22 at 9–11, for a sceptical view of the story about William the Conqueror and the men of Kent.

47 A. Williams, *The World before Domesday: The English Aristocracy, 900–1066*, London 2008, 57. I should like to thank the author for kindly giving me access to chapters of this important book in advance of publication.

as much surviving documentation for other counties, it might have been possible to demonstrate that there were comparable families in other shires.[48]

East Anglia was another region which was only slowly integrated into the kingdom, as Lucy Marten has recently argued. She has suggested that 917, the date when Edward the Elder made a treaty with the men of East Anglia, was only the beginning of a long process, that kings had only limited land and influence in the region, and that the major breakthrough came only under Cnut. It was in his reign that Norfolk and Suffolk were divided into shires with sheriffs. Norwich and Ipswich were of growing importance, taking over the role of Thetford, the earlier centre for the whole of East Anglia. Bury St Edmunds was converted into a Benedictine house and endowed by King Cnut, while Queen Emma was put in charge of the abbey's eight and a half hundreds in west Suffolk.[49]

The region where the southern kings had least direct influence was, of course, England north of Humber and Mersey.[50] Here the king had relatively little demesne land. There was an archbishop at York and a bishop at Durham but no Benedictine monasteries. English kings appointed earls of Northumbria, but it is not certain how much influence they had over them, or, indeed, how much influence the earls in turn had over such a large area, which comprised different regions with different traditions and loyalties.[51] York, an important trading town, was the centre for an Anglo-Danish population which had had its own king until 954.[52] The North-East, centred on Bamburgh, was the rump of the old kingdom of Bernicia and was the object of hostile attention by the Scots.[53] West of the Pennines, the southern region – the 'land between the Ribble and the Mersey' – was held by the king in 1066, and the northern districts by Earl Tostig.[54] Lancashire north of the Ribble and Cumbria were remote from centres of English royal power. Cumbria is said to have come into the orbit of the kings of Scots, yet we may wonder whether effective power in fact rested with local lords.[55] Earl Uhtred (d. 1016) was descended from the lords of Bamburgh, and the course of his career suggests that family interests came first and foremost. He was prepared to submit to Swein, in 1013, and three years later joined Edmund Ironside in harrying Mercia until forced to retreat north because Cnut was harrying there. Although he submitted to Cnut, the damage had been done and he was put to

48 Ibid. 58.

49 L. Marten, 'The Shiring of East Anglia: An Alternative Hypothesis', *Historical Research* 81, 2008, 1–27.

50 Whitelock, 'Dealings'; W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation, 1000–1135*, London 1979, chapters 1–3; R. Fletcher, *Bloodfeud: Murder and Revenge in Anglo-Saxon England*, London 2002.

51 Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 10–26.

52 *Viking Age York and the North*, ed. R. A. Hall, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 27, 1978; D. M. Palliser, *Domesday York*, Borthwick Paper 78, 1990. For merchants, chiefly Danish, at York around the millennium see the passage from Byrhtferth's 'Life of St Oswald' in D. Rollason with D. Gore and G. Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, York 1998, 171–2.

53 Fletcher, *Bloodfeud*, chapter 3.

54 GDB 269b1–270a2 (Ches. R1–R7), 301b2–302a1 (Yorks. 1/W1–8); N. J. Higham, *A Frontier Landscape: The North-West in the Middle Ages,* Macclesfield 2004, chapter 2.

55 Interpretations of the scanty evidence for the fate of the region from the Viking period onwards have differed: D. P. Kirby, 'Strathclyde and Cumbria: A Survey of Historical Development to 1092', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, new series 62, 1962, 71–94; C. Phythian-Adams argued for a great deal of local self-governance under Scottish rule, *Land of the Cumbrians: A Study in British Provincial Origins, A.D. 400–1120*, Aldershot 1996, 169–71; for a different view see D. Broun, 'The Welsh Identity of the Kingdom of Strathclyde, *c.* 900–*c.* 1200', *Innes Review* 55, 2004, 111–80.

death on the latter's orders.[56] Afterwards the northern part of the earldom, centred on Bamburgh, seems to have remained in the possession of Uhtred's kin,[57] whilst Cnut's earl, Eiric, held the southern part of the earldom.[58] Eiric's successor Siward held only the south until by killing the lord of Bamburgh he is said to have been earl of the whole until his death in 1055. Siward seems to have been based at York.[59] He married into the Bamburgh family,[60] proved himself against the Scots, in that he is said to have recovered Cumbria,[61] and led an expedition to Scotland which resulted in the removal of Macbeth.[62]

Tostig, like Siward, was an outsider in the North, but unlike Siward, who had married into the Bamburgh family, had no such local link.[63] Moreover, the northern border of the earldom had begun to suffer from Scottish attack. Although Tostig helped to broker a peace deal between King Malcolm and Edward the Confessor in 1059, Malcolm invaded again during Tostig's absence on pilgrimage to Rome.[64] Tostig seems to have tried to foster good relations with the community at Durham, to which he and his wife were benefactors,[65] and he had a substantial force of housecarls at York in 1065.[66] Exactly how much authority he or his deputy Copsi had in the North,[67] however, is unclear, and the same is true of his successor Morcar.[68] When Harold became king a few months later, he had to negotiate with the northerners separately, as we learn from the *Life* of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester. Wulfstan warned the northerners of evil times to come if they persisted in rebellion, and they accepted Harold, but evidently their acquiescence could not be taken for granted.[69]

This was the region where the Conqueror found it hardest to impose any secure hold. The northerners killed Copsi, whom the Conqueror had appointed earl soon after Hastings;[70] the second earl, Gospatric, fled to Scotland;[71] the third, Robert

56 ASC 1016 CDE; W. M. Aird, 'Uhtred, Earl of Bamburgh (d. 1016)', in *ODNB*.

57 S. Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', in *Reign of Cnut*, ed. Rumble, 43–88 at 57.

58 Ibid. 57–8; P. Stafford, 'Erik of Hlathir, Earl of Northumbria (fl. 995–1023)', in *ODNB*.

59 He was buried there, in the church of St Olave which he had founded and which was adjacent to the 'earl's borough', ASC 1055 D; for comment see Rollason, *Sources for York History*, 175.

60 Siward married Ælflæda, granddaughter of Earl Uhtred, 'De Obsessione', *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, I, 219.

61 The argument that Siward recovered Cumbria rests on a charter of Gospatric to Thorfinn mac Thore, see Harmer, *AS Writs*, 419–24, 531–6. For discussion see Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 42–9; for a redating see Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians*, 174–81.

62 John of Worcester, II, 574–5.

63 Tostig's wife Judith was the daughter of Count Baldwin IV of Flanders. This alliance was important for the Godwin family, and presumably brought Tostig wealth in the form of a dowry, but was of little direct advantage in northern politics.

64 *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 174–5. If Cumberland had passed out of the Scots' control, it is not clear when they recovered it. Malcolm's invasion of 1070 is said to have passed through Cumberland, and one inference therefrom is that the Scots had recovered the region, ibid. 190.

65 Symeon, *Libellus*, ed. Rollason, 174–7.

66 John of Worcester, II, 596–9.

67 Symeon, *Libellus*, ed. Rollason, 180–1 and n. 56. Copsi's name was derived from Old Norse. He gave estates in north Yorkshire at Marske by Sea, Thornton Fields, and Tocketts Farm to Durham, from which it has been inferred that he came from that county, W. M. Aird, 'Copsi, Earl of Northumbria (d. 1067)', in *ODNB*.

68 Morcar appointed Oswulf of Bamburgh as his deputy, and the latter killed Copsi, *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 198.

69 William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, Oxford 2002, 56–7.

70 Poitiers, 162–3, 184–5.

71 *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 199; for Gospatric see W. M. Aird, 'Gospatric, Earl of Northumbria (d. 1073×5)', in *ODNB*.

de Commines, was killed at Durham in 1069.[72] The northerners rebelled in 1068 and 1069, and in the latter year were joined by Edgar Ætheling, English thegns, Waltheof, son of Siward, and, late in the year, a large Danish fleet. William marched to York for a second time, and ravaged the North during the winter of 1068–9.[73] The Danes moved off, and in the following year were persuaded to sail away with their treasure.[74] In 1070 a new Norman archbishop was nominated, but his refusal to profess obedience to Lanfranc of Canterbury brought problems. William was alleged to have been persuaded to back Canterbury, not because of the rights and wrongs of the issue, said the York chronicler, but because he was afraid that an independent archbishop of York would join with the 'fickle and treacherous Yorkshiremen' and crown another king.[75] From William's perspective this was no idle threat.

The North, together with the east Midlands and East Anglia, was part of the Danelaw. The old tendency to view this as a homogeneous region has come in for criticism in recent years,[76] as has any simplistic view that regions of strong Anglo-Danish settlement would automatically favour Danish claimants to the throne in the late tenth and eleventh centuries.[77] If Danish settlers were thickly clustered round York, those living along the Irish Sea littoral were more likely to have been of Norse-Irish descent.[78]

The political cross-currents in Æthelred's reign, it is clear, were founded on rivalries which were not simply based on ethnicity.[79] On the other hand, ethnic hostility cannot be overlooked. It has been pointed out that the will of Æthelric of Bocking (Essex, 995 × 999) was contested because he had been involved 'in the treacherous plan that Swein should be received in Essex when he first came there with a fleet'.[80] Æthelred's order that all the Danes be killed on St Brice's Day in 1002 has prompted some discussion about the literalness with which this was to be taken.[81] Fleets did tend to sail to eastern England, where presumably they were hoping for support and supplies. For example, in 1013 Swein sailed round the east coast to the Humber, and then along the river Trent to Gainsborough. There he received submissions from Uhtred, the Northumbrians, the men of Lindsey, the people of the Five Boroughs, and all to the north of Watling Street.[82]

At certain points in the eleventh century it was not inconceivable that the kingdom

[72] ASC 1068 [1069] D.
[73] ASC 1069, 1070 DE.
[74] ASC 1071 E.
[75] Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York, 1066–1127*, ed. and trans. C. Johnson, rev. M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke, and M. Winterbottom, Oxford 1990, 4–5.
[76] C. Hart, 'What was the Danelaw?' in Hart, *The Danelaw*, London 1992, 3–24; K. Holman, 'Defining the Danelaw', in *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell, R. Hall, J. Jesch, and D. N. Parsons, Oxford 2001, 1–11; D. M. Hadley, 'Viking and Native: Re-thinking Identity in the Danelaw', *EME* 11, 2002, 45–70; eadem, *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture*, Manchester 2006.
[77] M. Innes, 'Danelaw Identities: Ethnicity, Regionalism and Political Allegiance', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. D. M. Hadley and J. D. Richards, Turnhout 2000, 65–88.
[78] *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*, ed. J. R. Baldwin and I. D. Whyte, Edinburgh 1985; N. Higham, *The Northern Counties to AD 1000*, London 1986, 322–35.
[79] C. Insley, 'Politics, Conflict and Kinship in Early Eleventh-Century Mercia', *Midland History* 25, 2000, 28–42.
[80] S 939: *EHD I*, no. 121; Whitelock, *AS Wills*, no. 16: 2; discussed Innes, 'Danelaw Identities', 83.
[81] ASC 1002 E; S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' (978–1016)*, Cambridge 1980, 203–5; A. Williams, '"Cockles amongst the Wheat": Danes and English in the Western Midlands in the First Half of the Eleventh Century', *Midland History* 11, 1986, 1–22.
[82] ASC 1013 E.

would be partitioned. Swein himself managed to secure the submissions of the men of Wessex before his death, and so the kingdom was not divided. However, his son Cnut, faced with Edmund Ironside, was prepared to agree to a division.[83] The Norwegians in 1066[84] and the Danes in 1069,[85] 1070,[86] and 1075[87] may well have hoped, in default of gaining the whole kingdom, to establish a bridgehead in the North, and perhaps limit the Normans to the South. Partition was also said to be the aim of the three rebellious earls in 1075.[88] The most dangerous threat of all came in 1085 when Swein Estrithson's son Cnut allied with his father-in-law, Count Robert of Flanders, and it was only Cnut's assassination that led to the expedition being aborted.[89]

Lindsey, that part of Lincolnshire which had been a separate early kingdom, figures more than once as still having a collective identity. In 1013 the men of Lindsey had submitted to Swein, and three years later they agreed to supply Cnut.[90] It was not surprising that the seat of the Norman bishop was moved from Dorchester to Lincoln, where a fortified cathedral was built, or that Earl Hugh of Chester was granted Harold Godwinson's estates in the county.[91] Heavy quotas of knight service, evidently linked to security issues, were assigned to the bishopric (sixty), Peterborough abbey (sixty), and Ely (fifty-five).[92] The threat of Danish war-fleets gradually eased, but ties with the Scandinavian world remained strong, especially, it has been argued, between Lincolnshire and Norway.[93]

Norman kingship and lordship was slower to take firm root in the North. If the lordships of lowland Yorkshire were established under the Conqueror, it was William Rufus who extended Norman rule as far as Carlisle, and under Henry I that the tenurial landscape of much of the North took shape.[94] The community at Durham, well placed to profit from its situation *between* two kingdoms, was brought into closer alignment with the South under Ranulf Flambard, who died in 1128.[95] A bishopric was established at Carlisle against the evident wishes of King David of Scots. There were royal officials reporting at the exchequer for all regions, and even south Lancashire, in the hands of Stephen of Blois, is mentioned in the 1130 pipe roll.[96]

83 ASC 1016 DE.
84 ASC 1066 CDE.
85 ASC 1069 DE.
86 ASC 1070 E.
87 ASC 1075 E.
88 Orderic, II, 310–15.
89 ASC 1085 E.
90 The men of Lindsey had been prepared to acknowledge Swein in 1013 and Cnut in 1014, ASC 1013, 1014 E. Tostig harried there in 1066, ASC 1066 C.
91 D. Owen, 'The Norman Cathedral at Lincoln,' *ANS* 6, 1983, 188–99.
92 For the quotas see T. K. Keefe, *Feudal Assessments and the Political Community under Henry II and his Sons*, Berkeley CA 1983, 157–60.
93 S. Marritt, 'Drogo the Sheriff: A Neglected Lost Romance Tradition and Anglo-Norwegian Relations in the Twelfth Century', *Historical Research* 80, 2007, 157–84.
94 Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, chapters 5–7; J. A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, Cambridge 1997, chapter 3; eadem, 'King Henry I and Northern England', *TRHS* 6th series 17, 2007, 35–55.
95 W. M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham, 1071–1153*, Woodbridge 1998; G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Kings of Scotland and Durham', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey, and M. Prestwich, Woodbridge 1994, 311–23; F. Barlow, 'St Calais, William of', in *ODNB*; H. S. Offler, 'Ranulf Flambard as Bishop of Durham, 1099–1128', *Durham University Journal* 64, 1971, 14–25; J. F. A. Mason, 'Flambard, Ranulf', in *ODNB.*
96 Though there was no revenue forthcoming from the lordship, see Green, 'King Henry I and Northern England', 51–4.

Nevertheless, northern society retained distinctive features.[97] More native families survived in the upper levels of society, in some cases evidently keeping the lands their families had held prior to the coming of the Normans. Those Normans who settled there tended to be based in the North: the ancestors of the Northerners of King John's reign. Their families came to dominate the key castles and the offices of sheriff and justice. Some had links across the northern border with southern Scotland, and the networks of families and religious houses crossed the border and facilitated an extension of influence from the north under King David. For a time it seemed as though the Anglo-Scottish border might be not at Solway and Tweed but, say, between Ribble and Tyne. The possibility of a 'Scoto-Northumbrian state',[98] to use Professor Barrow's phrase, shows that the boundary between the English and the Scots was still a movable feast.

The English kingdom was thus united, but unity was fragile, and royal authority was not exercised uniformly or with equal vigour across the different regions. Kings had to negotiate with different groups, such as the men of the Five Boroughs or of Lindsey, and royal authority was decidedly attenuated in the North. The history of kingship is thus intimately bound up with that of lordship at every level. Kings sought allies, and kings and lords sought loyalty, service, and wealth. To whom was service owed, and on what terms? Who policed the military followers of lords? Who could take taxes, and on what occasions? Solutions to these key questions were hammered out over time, and according to political circumstances. Lords had to satisfy both the king above them and their men below them.

One particularly contentious question in the eleventh century proved to be that of access to hunting. Anglo-Saxon kings and nobles enjoyed hunting. Kings had their favourite hunting grounds and lodges.[99] Before 1066 aristocrats had been constructing private game reserves on their own land.[100] What is less clear is how far kings before 1066 had protected game outside their demesne woodland. It is usually thought that the law of Cnut on this point allowed private lords to hunt on their land whilst forbidding anyone to trespass on the king's hunting, but the relevant section does not define the king's hunting precisely. II Cnut 80 reads 'Every free man shall be entitled to hunt in the woods and fields on his own property. But everyone, under pain of incurring the full penalty, shall avoid hunting on my preserves, wherever they may be.' The Norman dukes possessed demesne forests which they had inherited from the Carolingians, and introduced their customs into England after 1066.[101] The

97 This paragraph is based on Green, 'King Henry I and Northern England'.

98 G. W. S. Barrow, *Feudal Britain: The Completion of the Medieval Kingdoms, 1066–1314*, London 1956, 145; W. M. Aird, 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? The Anglo-Scottish Border in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries and the Problem of Perspective', in *Government, Religion, and Society in Northern England, 1000–1700,* ed. J. C. Appleby and P. Dalton, Stroud 1997, 27–39.

99 For the royal hunting lodge at Cheddar, P. Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar*, BAR British Series 65, 1979; for royal parks at Clarendon, Windsor, Woodstock, Gillingham, Ludgershall, Guildford, and Eltham, see A. Richardson, ' "The King's Chief Delights": A Landscape Approach to the Royal Parks of Post-Conquest England', in *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives*, ed. R. Liddiard, Macclesfield 2007, 27–48 at 33–5; R. Lavelle, *Royal Estates in Anglo-Saxon Wessex: Land, Politics and Family Strategies*, BAR British Series 439, 2007, 74. Edward the Confessor's visits to Gloucester may have been linked with hunting in the Forest of Dean: for the king's itinerary, see T. J. Oleson, *The Witenagemot in the Reign of Edward the Confessor*, London 1955, 158–61.

100 R. Liddiard, 'The Deer Parks of Domesday Book', *Landscapes* 4, 2003, 4–23.

101 Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, 'Les Origines franco-normandes de la "forêt" anglaise', in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont*, Paris 1913, 59–76; idem, *Studies and Notes supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, 2 vols in 1, Manchester 1923, II, 166–78; J. M. Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland*, Edinburgh 1979, chapter 1.

Conqueror was condemned by the chroniclers for the creation of the New Forest and for putting certain animals under his special protection.[102] There are two elements in these comments. The first is that the forest was defined as a geographical area, the New Forest attracting especial opprobrium.[103] We know very little about its massive extension in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.[104] The second is that the degree of royal protection impressed contemporaries: the Conqueror 'loved the red deer as if he were their father'. Killing red deer was punishable by very heavy fines, presumably in mitigation of blinding, as we can see in the earliest pipe roll. For example, the earl of Warwick owed more than £70 in 1130 for pleas of deer. Walter Espec, a prominent royal justice in the North, accounted for 200 silver marks for a plea of a red deer.[105] It is possible that the bounds of the king's demesne forests were simply extended in those regions where there were red deer, and that by the 1120s, when royal justices were checking on the king's rights in each county, many cases of killing red deer came to light.[106] It is possible that essentially such laws applied only to the king's demesne forests: perhaps this was why Henry I felt able to say in 1100 that he was retaining the forests in his own hands with the consent of his barons as his father had held them.[107] Henry evidently restricted hunting by magnates on their own land within the forests, as we learn from Orderic Vitalis, writing possibly in the 1130s.[108] This may again have been a critical difference from Anglo-Saxon times, and it is likely to have been much resented by those who hunted on their own lands, without perhaps seeking written permission.

Yet as well as thinking about the relationship between kingship and lordship, more attention needs to be given to local centres of power, the 'community' of my title.[109] Identifying communities in the eleventh century is not easy, given the patchy surviving evidence. Ann Williams has demonstrated how this can be done for Kent, and has drawn attention to glimpses of similar groups in Herefordshire in Cnut's reign[110] and Oxfordshire under Edward the Confessor, revealed in a lease by the abbot of St Albans to a woman named Tova and her son.[111] It has been suggested that the latter lease may have been granted at a meeting of the shire court of Oxfordshire.[112]

The greater frequency with which shire courts were meeting by the eleventh century provided an obvious forum where local thegns could meet, together with representatives of the king, the earl, and the bishop. It may have been the only

102 F. H. Baring, 'The Making of the New Forest', *EHR* 16, 1901, 427–38; K. Mew, 'The Dynamics of Lordship and Landscape as revealed in a Domesday Study of the *Nova Foresta*', *ANS* 23, 2000, 155–66. The passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's obituary of William refers first to the deer reserve and the laws relating to it, viz. blinding for killing a hart or a hind (red deer). He forbade the killing of boars in the same way as the killing of harts, and hares were also to go unmolested, ASC 1086 [1087] E.

103 John of Worcester, III, 92–3; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 502–5; Orderic, V, 282–5.

104 See, however, Mew, 'Dynamics of Lordship and Landscape', 159–60.

105 *PR 31 Henry I*, 32, 106.

106 'Forest' was listed as a Crown plea in *Leges Henrici Primi*, c. 10.

107 Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 119.

108 Orderic, VI, 100–1.

109 A point made by Susan Reynolds in the introduction to her *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*, Oxford 1984.

110 S 1462 (account of a dispute between Edwin son of Enniaun and his mother); Robertson, *AS Charters*, no. 73; discussed Williams, *World before Domesday*, 58–9.

111 S 1425; *Charters of St Albans*, ed. J. Crick, Anglo-Saxon Charters 12, Oxford 2007, no. 16A (pp. 218–19).

112 S. Baxter, 'The Earls of Mercia and their Commended Men in the Mid Eleventh Century', *ANS* 23, 2000, 23–46 at 25–6, 35–7.

point of contact for many local thegns with royal authority for, as Williams has pointed out, outside Wessex many thegns do not appear as witnesses of royal diplomas.[113] However, not all assemblies were held in shire courts: the great ceremonial events to mark the building of churches or the translation of saints were another category. Weddings were a third, only rarely mentioned in the sources. Thus it was that Harthacnut was taken ill at a great wedding feast for the marriage of Osgod Clapa's daughter to Tofi the Proud, at Lambeth in 1042,[114] and the wedding feast at Exning outside Cambridge in 1075 provided cover for the conspiracy of the three earls against William the Conqueror.[115]

Alliances between neighbours, or between the great earls and lesser thegns, are difficult to track unless they involved land, yet such networks, where vertical and horizontal ties overlapped, were obviously crucial to local and regional domination. The recent study of the earls of Mercia by Stephen Baxter has highlighted the different elements in the family's great power, based on land, lordship over lesser men, and patronage of religious houses.[116] It is a mix which does not look very different from that employed by their successors, the Norman earls of Chester. By the time of Ranulf II (by 1129–53) there are enough surviving charters issued in the earl's name to enable identification not just of the earl's household and following, and members of his family by kinship or marriage, but also of those lesser lords who felt it prudent to ally their fortunes with the great earl.[117]

Yet it is the localization of power in eleventh-century England, the rise of a lesser aristocracy, which invites our attention.[118] Over a protracted period, larger units of lordship broke up and smaller units were created. These included the nucleated villages of lowland England, with a local lord, a village church, and a peasant workforce tilling the open fields. No single factor lay behind this development. One cause was rising population levels, related to improving climatic conditions.[119] New estates were sometimes created by subdivision of larger units, as investing in agriculture by clearing land and sowing crops was increasingly profitable. Lords must have been ever more visible figures, their presence making it possible to keep watch on their peasants. How far the coming of the Normans led to a greater subjugation of the peasantry has been debated. There was no need for the Normans, after all, to treat their peasants with kid gloves.[120] On the other hand, we may be too ready to conclude that new lords raised rents and services wholesale, beyond what could be borne.

All landed families were concerned to make provision for their sons, and for their womenfolk, but the way this was done and the extent of outside intervention changed over time. It used to be thought that 1066 was again a turning point here, with the introduction of male primogeniture, and of surnames, associating a family

113 Williams, *World before Domesday*, 61.

114 John of Worcester, II, 532–5; A. Williams, 'Osgod Clapa' and 'Tovi the Proud', in *ODNB*.

115 John of Worcester, III, 24–5; ASC 1075 E.

116 S. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 2007, chapters 3–6.

117 Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 216.

118 R. Fleming, 'The New Wealth, the New Rich and the New Political Style in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *ANS* 23, 2000, 1–22; A. Williams, 'Thegnly Piety and Ecclesiastical Patronage in the Late Old English Kingdom', *ANS* 24, 2001, 1–24.

119 R. Fossier, 'The Rural Economy and Demographic Growth', in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, IV part I, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith, Cambridge 2004, 10–46.

120 R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*, London 1997, chapter 8. See, however, the review by P. Stafford, *History* 83, 1998, 701–2.

with its chief residence. However, it seems fairly clear that inheritance strategies were changing in a much longer time frame. We are hampered by our incomplete knowledge of families – exactly how many sons and daughters there were and how much land was provided for each – but the signs of increasing control of daughters' inheritances, and of the remarriage of widows, can be found before 1066, as Pauline Stafford has shown.[121] Moreover, it seems fairly clear that the adoption of hereditary toponyms, or surnames, was proceeding at roughly the same time in both England and Normandy: for Roger of Montgomery see Eadric of Laxfield, for instance.[122]

The rise of such lordships impacted on the landscape. Indeed, the phrase 'landscapes of lordship' has been coined to express the way seigneurial residences were sited and planned with a view to display as well as comfort.[123] Hall and chamber blocks were situated in enclosures. Built by Anglo-Saxon thegns, they were taken over by Norman lords, and it has been suggested that the idea was exported to the duchy by the 1120s.[124] Some lords had adjacent parks to provide deer for sport and food. Private lords before 1066 had enjoyed hunting,[125] and created parks convenient to their residences.[126] It was part of changing aristocratic lifestyle already noted.

Because politics were so turbulent in the eleventh century we have not given enough attention to continuities in centres of lordship at the local level. The most obvious were the great churches, which were major landlords and centres of networks of prayer and benefaction. Such communities were vocal in their attempts to recover lost lands and rights, yet the fact was that they survived the ups and downs of politics and some were able to benefit.[127] New tenants and new patrons had to be sought. The greatest Norman families, often with pre-existing commitments to houses in Normandy, were unlikely to rush to bestow endowments on already wealthy religious communities in England. Yet if initially gifts were relatively small, new networks were forged. Confraternity lists and the Books of Life give insights into such bonds. Hiro Tsurushima has reconstructed many of those who were granted confraternity at Rochester around 1100, for instance, and has identified families, parents and children, Normans and English, who sought the privilege of confraternity.[128]

Moreover, the degree of continuity in centres of lay lordship may have been underestimated. One category is that of sheriffs' estates before and after 1066. In a handful of cases the pre-Conquest sheriffs themselves survived. In Essex Robert FitzWimarc was succeeded by Swein. Æthelwine of Warwick was succeeded as sheriff by his son Turchil.[129] Other Norman sheriffs succeeded to some of the lands

121 'Women and the Norman Conquest', *TRHS* 6th series 4, 1994, 221–49.

122 J. C. Holt, 'What's in a Name? Family Nomenclature and the Norman Conquest', reprinted in Holt, *Colonial England, 1066–1215*, London 1997, 179–96 at 179–81.

123 R. Liddiard, '*Landscapes of Lordship': Norman Castles and the Countryside in Medieval Norfolk, 1066–1200*, BAR British Series 309, 2000; idem, 'Castle Rising, Norfolk: A "Landscape of Lordship"?', *ANS* 22, 1999, 169–86; idem, 'The Castle Landscapes of Anglo-Norman East Anglia: A Regional Perspective', in *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, Woodbridge 2005, 33–51.

124 J. Blair, 'Hall and Chamber: English Domestic Planning, 1000–1250', in *Manorial Domestic Building in England and Northern France*, Society of Antiquaries Occasional Paper 15, London 1994, 1–21; E. Impey, 'La Demeure seigneuriale en Normandie entre 1125 et 1225', *Normandie médiévale*, ed. M. Baylé, 2 vols, Caen 1997, II, 219–41.

125 N. Sykes, 'Zooarchaeology of the Norman Conquest', *ANS* 27, 2004, 185–97.

126 Liddiard, 'Deer Parks of Domesday Book'.

127 E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066–1135*, Woodbridge 1998.

128 H. Tsurushima, 'The Fraternity of Rochester Cathedral Priory about 1100', *ANS* 14, 1991, 313–37.

129 A. Williams, 'A Vice-Comital Family in Pre-Conquest Warwickshire', *ANS* 11, 1988, 279–95. Edward of Salisbury may have been another survivor. He is referred to as presiding over a court before 1066, a justiciar in the (late) Ramsey cartulary, *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, RS 83, London 1886, 153–4; Williams, *English and Norman Conquest*, 105–7.

as well as the office of their English predecessors:[130] Roger Bigod to Æthelwig of Thetford,[131] Picot to Blacwine of Cambridge,[132] Hugh de Port to Osweard of Kent, and so on.[133]

When pre-Conquest lords were displaced, their successors sometimes had good reason for keeping existing centres of lordship, either on the identical site or relatively close by. In East Anglia the high proportion of freemen and sokemen meant that lordship was less about manorial lordship than about collection of rents and services. The new lords after 1066 in some cases located their *capita* in the same locations as their predecessors. Robert Liddiard has pointed out that this was the case in William de Warenne's house at Castle Acre in Norfolk.[134] In Suffolk Richard FitzGilbert's *caput* was at Clare, where his predecessor Ælfric had an important demesne manor and had founded a collegiate church,[135] and Hugh de Montfort's at Haughley, where his predecessor Guthmund had had a hall.[136] William Malet's *caput* was at Eye, an important manor of Eadric of Laxfield.[137]

In the Midlands and the North great territorial sokes still survived, with estate centres, dependent estates or berewicks, and dues from sokemen.[138] Some of these, too, passed relatively intact to new Norman lords. This can be seen very clearly in the great northern lordships of Richmond, where Count Alan built a castle not far from Earl Edwin's manor at Gilling,[139] Pontefract, near the royal manor of Tanshelf,[140] and Tickhill near Laughton en le Morthen, where Earl Edwin had a hall.[141] In the North-East the lands of St Cuthbert formed the nucleus of what was later to be the palatinate of the bishops of Durham.[142] The earls of Mercia may already have exercised primacy over lesser local lords in Cheshire, as the Norman earls were to do.[143]

Finally, we also need to think about towns as centres of power. London in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was formidable in terms of wealth and political influ-

130 K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066–1166*, II: *Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum*, Woodbridge 2002, 35–8.

131 LDB 172b, 174a, 174b, 175a, 175b, 177b, 178a, 179a, 180a, 181b, 182a, 185a, 190a (Norf. 9/14–16, 22–3, 25, 29, 60, 100, 104–5: Æthelwig of Thetford); (Norf. 9/5, 12, 16, 19–20, 62, 70, 72–3, 75, 81, 89–93, 157, 228: A(i)lwy); LDB 330b (Suff. 7/1: Æthelwig of Thetford).

132 GDB 201a2, 201b1 (Cambs. 32/34–5, 38–9, 43).

133 GDB 2b1 (Kent 1/1) (as Osweard the Sheriff); 7b2–8a1, 9a2, 10a1 (Kent 5/63, 70, 115–18, 153) (as Osweard).

134 Liddiard, *Landscapes of Lordship*, 29.

135 LDB 389b (Suff. 25/1); R. Mortimer, 'The Beginnings of the Honour of Clare', *ANS* 3, 1980, 119–41, 220–1 at 128.

136 LDB 408b (Suff. 31/42).

137 LDB 319b–320a (Suff. 6/191).

138 D. Roffe, 'From Thegnage to Barony: Sake and Soke, Title, and Tenants-in-Chief', *ANS* 12, 1989, 157–76.

139 GDB 309a1 (Yorks. 6/N1).

140 GDB 316b1 (Yorks. 9/W64). Earl Edwin's manors of Kippax and Ledston were also key centres for the new Lacy lordship, W. O. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194*, Oxford 1966, 45–7. At Kippax there are remains of a ringwork, *VCH Yorks*. II, 31–2.

141 GDB 319a1 (Yorks. 10/W1); Roffe, 'From Thegnage to Barony', 169.

142 Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, chapters 2 and 5. For the estates of the bishopric in the late twelfth century, see *Boldon Book: Northumberland and Durham*, ed. D. Austin, Chichester 1982. Nevertheless, the point that the lands of St Cuthbert form an element of continuity should not obscure the importance of change at the local level, as David Austin's recent study of Barnard Castle has demonstrated. He argues that Guy de Balliol located his castle precisely to keep a watching brief on the bishop of Durham, whose loyalties to William Rufus were less than assured, D. Austin, *Acts of Perception: A Study of Barnard Castle in Teesdale*, 2 vols, London 2007, I, 42–60; II, 651–2. Thanks to Rob Liddiard for this reference.

143 N. J. Higham, 'Patterns of Patronage and Power: The Governance of Late Anglo-Saxon Cheshire', in *Government, Religion, and Society*, ed. Appleby and Dalton, 1–13.

ence, and also in military power, demonstrated in 1066[144] and again in 1141,[145] but it was not alone. Events at Dover in 1067,[146] Exeter in the same year[147] and York in 1068 all involved the townspeople.[148] Moreover, the links between towns and the lay and ecclesiastical aristocracy were very close, as Fleming has demonstrated,[149] while Baxter has shown the importance of the earl's power in boroughs in late Anglo-Saxon times.[150]

Power in eleventh-century England was thus multifaceted, locally varied, exercised though differing channels, and through the medium of different discourses. Identities and communities were constructed and shifting. Relationships between the centre and the localities changed over time. Alliances were lateral as well as vertical. Change took place in a context of political events, but politics was not their only determinant. The economic context mattered: climate change and population growth sustained a highly monetized society. The influence of the church was important, for example in conditioning to whom church lands could be granted, or the status of marriage. The wider context also needs to be remembered as we seek to understand the impact of outsiders, whether Scandinavian or Norman. Finally, the timescale needs to be adjusted, so that our view of eleventh-century England is not dominated by knowledge of the events of 1066.

144 *Carmen*, 38–43.

145 *Gesta Stephani*, 122–7, 226–7; William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, trans. K. R. Potter, ed. E. King, Oxford 1998, 28–9, 94–9.

146 Jumièges, II, 176–9; Orderic, II, 204–5.

147 ASC 1067 E; Orderic, II, 210–15.

148 ASC 1068 DE.

149 R. Fleming, 'Rural Elites and Urban Communities in Late-Saxon England', *P&P* 141, Nov. 1993, 3–37.

150 Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 97–104.

CITADELS OF GOD: MONASTERIES, VIOLENCE, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN NORTHERN ENGLAND, 1135–1154

Janet Burton

There were some monastic writers who saw that times of warfare might benefit their order. In describing Ailred's brief but formative period as abbot of Revesby (1143–47), Walter Daniel noted how the prevailing lack of law and order worked to the advantage of the new house. Commenting on grants of land offered to, and received by, the abbot he stated:

> he [Ailred] had realised that in this unsettled time such gifts profited knights and monks alike, for in those days it was hard for any to lead the good life unless they were monks or members of some religious order, so disturbed and chaotic was the land, reduced almost to a desert by the malice, slaughters and harryings of evil men. And so he desired that that land, for which almost all men were fighting to the death, should pass into the hands of the monks for their good; and he knew that to give what they had helped the possessors of goods to their salvation, and that if they did not give, they might well lose both life and goods without any payment in return.[1]

The view expressed here was that monastic houses were havens of peace and security – in contrast to the 'disturbed and chaotic land' – and that monks, sustained by the gifts of the good and the not-so-good (perhaps in this period the latter particularly), could engage in another kind of combat for the salvation of souls. In an equally famous passage telling how his father, the chaplain Odelerius, persuaded Earl Roger of Montgomery to found Shrewsbury abbey, Orderic Vitalis described the monastery as a 'citadel of God against Satan'.[2] He was, of course, employing a familiar military metaphor used by monastic writers to characterize the spiritual struggles of the 'cowled champions' engaged in battle with the devil for the souls of humankind.[3] But in contrast to the pictures drawn by Walter Daniel and by Orderic there were occasions when monastic houses might be seen as citadels of another, more earthly, kind, and when the world outside impacted more than usual on monastic communities. In times of warfare monasteries might cease to conform to the stereotypical havens of peace and tranquillity, offering refuge from a violent world. Indeed, violence might come to the cloister. As this paper will demonstrate, monastic houses did not exist in a vacuum. Some occupied strategic locations that had political or defensive potential. If they were wealthy their resources might be seized for much needed supplies. Individuals might retain former loyalties and bonds, and might fail to leave family or political connections at the gate of the monastery. And monasteries might be vulnerable because they were identified with

1 *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel*, ed. and trans. F. M. Powicke, London 1950, 28.
2 *monachile castrum contra Sathanan*: Orderic, III, 144–7.
3 *cucullati pugiles* [*contra*] *Behemoth*: ibid.

the interests of their founders and patrons. Hence there were occasions when monasteries did not rise above prevailing violence but became part of it.

The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the ways in which religious houses were drawn into warfare and were indeed the victims of violence, and to investigate the reasons behind this. The geographical scope of my paper is the north of England, and the time frame is provided by one of the most famous periods of unrest in English medieval history – the very time about which Walter Daniel was writing – the nineteen long winters when Christ and his saints were asleep, the reign of King Stephen (1135–54). I shall consider three themes or case studies in order to illustrate my argument, namely, that violence against monasteries has to be considered not – or not always – as sporadic attacks on disinterested communities, but that it has to be seen in its political context. The first case study is the Scottish attack on north-west England in 1138, and the implications for the Savigniac house of Calder. The second concerns the political involvement of the Cistercians in the disputed York election, and some of the consequences for the abbey of Fountains. The third concerns the implications of inter-baronial rivalry for the religious houses of the south of Yorkshire in the 1140s and 1150s, particularly on the axis of the abbeys of Selby and Pontefract and their estates.

Scottish invasion and the Savigniacs of Calder abbey

In 1124 Stephen, count of Mortain, later King Stephen, established an abbey of the order of Savigny at Tulketh in Lancashire, which in 1127 moved to its second site at Furness. In the next decade the order of Savigny spread to include a dozen or so houses in England and Wales. Most of the dispersal of the order was from its centre at Savigny in northern France, but in 1134 and 1135 Furness began the establishment of its own family, with foundations at Rushen on the Isle of Man, Calder in Cumbria, and Swineshead in Lincolnshire.[4]

The main source for the foundation and early history of the second of these daughter houses, Calder, is the late twelfth-century *Historia Fundationis* composed in 1197 at Byland abbey (Yorkshire), a house whose history is intimately connected with that of Calder.[5] In 1135, we are told, Furness sent out a daughter house to Calder at the invitation of a 'certain nobleman', who is not named in the text. Within a few years, however, the monks of Calder were forced to abandon the house because of damage sustained during a Scottish raid:

> they were violently attacked by King David of Scotland and the people of his land and of the land of Galloway. They had advanced against the kingdom of England in their usual manner – raging and thirsting for the blood of Englishmen. At that time, in the third year of King Stephen and the year of our Lord 1137, they finally (secretly and unexpectedly) stumbled across that abbey of Calder, so recently begun, and completely ransacked the house, carrying off the flocks as well as anything else they could lay their hands on. At this, Abbot Gerald formed a plan with his convent, which was that

4 For discussion of the spread of the Savigniac order in England see Janet Burton, '*Homines sanctitatis eximiae, religionis consummatae*: The Cistercians in England and Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 154, 2005, 27–49, and 'English Monasteries and the Continent in the Reign of King Stephen', in *King Stephen's Reign (1135–1154)*, ed. Paul Dalton and Graeme J. White, Woodbridge 2008, 98–114.

5 See *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx*, ed. Janet Burton, Borthwick Texts and Studies 35, 2006 [cited hereafter as *Foundation History*]. For date and authorship see ibid. pp. ix–xii.

> they should return to the mother house, and this they did, because they had no other sanctuary in that part of the country.[6]

All did not go according to the plan Abbot Gerald had devised, because – for reasons about which the author was unclear – the Calder monks were not welcomed at the mother house and together decided to seek help elsewhere.[7]

As it stands, this passage is all that we know about the destruction of Calder, and it is not very much. Abbot Philip's main concern was not with the details of the Scottish raid, but rather with the outcome, which was that the monks ended up not at Furness but on the other side of the Pennines, first at a site called Hood and finally at Byland abbey. Calder may, however, be the 'possession' of Furness abbey recorded by Richard of Hexham.

> While he [King David I of Scotland] was tarrying at the siege [of Norham] he sent William son of Duncan, his nephew, with Picts and a part of his army on campaign into Yorkshire. When they had come there and had – because of the sins of the people – obtained victory, they destroyed to a great extent with the sword and with fire the possessions of a certain noble monastery which is located in Furness, and the region which is called Craven.[8]

That Abbot Philip records the seizure of animals and goods makes the attack sound more like the seizure of plunder to sustain a passing army than a calculated attack. However, the fact of the abandonment of the site of Calder suggests either that the damage was substantial, or that the need to relocate at such a distance was due to a situation that was more complex than a mere raid. Placing this episode in the wider political and tenurial context may help us to understand the significance a little more.

The founder of Calder abbey was Ranulf Meschin, lord of Copeland. He was the product of the union between two powerful magnates, William Meschin, who was granted Copeland by Henry I and who constructed a castle at Egremont, and Cecily de Rumilly, the powerful lady of Skipton, which she had inherited from her father, Robert de Rumilly.[9] The two made a formidable alliance, controlling vast estates and playing their part in the monastic colonization of the north. It was on the advice and with the consent of his wife Cecily and his son Ranulf that William Meschin established a cell of St Mary's abbey, York, at St Bees, only a few miles from his castle at Egremont; and William and Cecily were co-founders of the Augustinian priory of Bolton on its first site at Embsay.[10] One of Cecily's charters for Embsay provides evidence that William Meschin was dead by 1140 at the latest.[11] If, as is likely, he died around 1135, then his son, Ranulf, marked his succession to the honour of Copeland by the foundation of his own monastery at Calder. Ranulf was not long to enjoy the barony for he himself died some time between 1135 and 1140, and was succeeded by one of his sisters and co-heiresses, Alice de Rumilly. Paul Dalton has argued convincingly that Ranulf's death probably occurred shortly

6 Ibid. 2.

7 Abbot Philip, author of the *Historia Fundationis*, recorded two traditions current at Byland concerning the rejection of the Calder monks. One was that the resources of Furness were insufficient to sustain two communities of monks; the second was that it was not proper for one abbey to house two convents each with its own abbot.

8 Translated from *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, III, 139–78 at 156.

9 *EYC*, VII, pp. 1–7.

10 *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. J. Wilson, Surtees Society 126, 1915, pp. 27–35, esp. 30–5. For Bolton see Janet E. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215*, Cambridge 1999, 80–3.

11 *EYC*, VII, no. 7.

after his lands in Cumbria and Lancashire were attacked and devastated by William fitz Duncan, nephew of the Scottish king in 1138. Having overrun the north-west, William fitz Duncan then reinforced his power and authority by marrying Ranulf's sister and heiress, Alice de Rumilly.[12]

It is in this context that we have to see the attack on Calder and its abandonment. First, it took place during the military campaign of William fitz Duncan in north Lancashire and Cravenshire and his seizure of Copeland. The abbey may well have been vulnerable because of its location. It would almost certainly have been passed by William's army as it marched to Egremont castle, seat of Ranulf Meschin, from which it was only a few miles distant. Calder abbey lay in an area that had been invaded and devastated, and was not the only religious house to lie in the path of the Scottish armies whose destruction was recorded. Richard of Hexham notes the devastation of another newly built monastery, evidently Newminster (*in terra Ranulfi de Merlai, de observantiis Cisterciensium . . . quoddam coenobium*).[13] What links the attacks on Calder and Newminster was that both were newly founded. But whereas Newminster, evidently damaged in the very year of its foundation, was not abandoned, Calder, attacked in its fourth year, was.

There were further implications, for Calder, of the political events of 1138. Through both conquest and marriage to the Meschin heiress, Alice, William fitz Duncan became lord of Copeland, and as a consequence patterns of religious patronage would undoubtedly have been affected. Although William did in time assume the patronage of another Meschin monastery, that of St Bees, which is demonstrated by his issue of charters of confirmation,[14] the destruction of Calder early in the military campaign meant that the normal channels of recourse for monks were closed. The Calder monks could not do what monasteries often did in circumstances when they were threatened and attacked, that is, turn to their lay patron for protection or to make good their losses. In 1138 the lay patron was dead, and political control over the area in which Calder was situated had passed to the Scots. With building on the site unlikely to have been too far advanced, and with the enemy at the gate, the situation may have seemed just too fragile to resist a return to Furness.

It was the refusal of the Furness monks to take in the sorry band of refugees that is perhaps the most intriguing feature of the narrative. Turning to their diocesan bishop on the other side of the Pennines the (erstwhile) Calder monks found patrons and supporters in the persons of Archbishop Thurstan himself, and Gundreda de Gournay, and her young son, Roger de Mowbray.[15] This allowed the community to relocate to Hood. However, the fortunes of the abbey continued to be controlled, perhaps even dominated, by political events and shifting alliances. Over the next three years Abbot Gerald seems to have determined to detach Hood from any constitutional relationship with Furness. At the Savigniac general chapter of June 1141

12 Judith Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties on the Northern Frontier of England, *c.* 1100–1174', in *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams, Woodbridge 1990, 83–100 at 97–8. Paul Dalton (*Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066–1154*, Cambridge 1994, 207–17) argues that Alice would have been more attractive as a prospective wife had she already succeeded her brother in Copeland, rather than being his presumptive co-heiress.

13 *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, III, 153.

14 For William's confirmation see *Register of St. Bees*, pp. 44–5 (no. 16). Alice de Rumilly made several confirmations to St Bees of the grants of her father and brother. In one charter she confirmed liberties which *dominus meus Willelmus nepos regis Scocie eidem ecclesie . . . donavit. Concessi enim, sicut et dominus meus* (ibid. no. 15). Others were issued in her widowhood, nos. 12–14, 16.

15 *Foundation History*, pp. xxii–xxiii, 3–7.

he succeeded in gaining for Hood the status of a daughter house of Savigny, in that way bypassing any connection with Furness.[16] The monks of Furness seem to have accepted that the convent was going to remain under Mowbray patronage, for after the monks of Hood had moved to their second site of Old Byland in 1142 a further colony was dispatched from Furness to reoccupy the site of Calder. We do not know who the founder was, but the confirmation by Pope Eugenius III in 1152, to Furness abbey, of Calder and the mill of the same place *ex dono Willelmi nepotis nobilis viri David[is] Regis Scotorum* may suggest that William fitz Duncan, established in Copeland in the right of his wife, sought this other means of stressing continuity of authority by the recovery and refoundation of a family monastery.[17]

I have argued elsewhere that the deliberate move by the abbey of Hood away from association with King Stephen's abbey has to be seen in the context of the distancing of Hood's patron, Roger de Mowbray, from the king.[18] In the aftermath of the battle of Lincoln of February 1141, at which Roger fought for the king but was captured by the earl of Chester, he was drawn further towards the Angevin party, his new loyalties reinforced by a marriage that had implications for the network of monastic patronage as well as political alliances.[19] The king himself started to show favour to Roger's rivals, the Stuteville family, and the territorial disputes between Mowbray and William and Robert de Stuteville led to attacks by the latter on Byland property, and very possibly the decision to move from the third site, occupied in 1147 – to which Mowbray's right was contested by the Stutevilles – to the fourth and final site some thirty years later.[20]

In the early history of Calder and Byland abbeys we have an example of how the fortunes of a religious community were deeply affected by prevailing political trends. The destruction and abandonment of Calder abbey, the reconfiguration of the monastic affiliation of Hood, and attacks on the abbey property around its third site, all stemmed, in some way, from invasion, devastation of enemy territory, the transfer of political power and authority from one party to another, and the wider contest for the throne of England.

The Cistercians of Fountains and the disputed York election

In the narrative of the beginnings of Calder and Byland there is one hint that a member of the monastic order became involved in political manoeuvring: I suggested that it may have been under the influence and at the prompting of his patron, Roger de Mowbray, that Abbot Gerald sought to align his house with Savigny rather than Furness. This in itself could be seen as a statement of political affiliation. A much clearer example of political involvement comes with the disputed election to the see of York in the 1140s. The events following the resignation and death of Archbishop Thurstan in early 1140, and the long and drawn out attempts to elect a successor, are too well known to need repeating here, although in the context of this paper it is perhaps worth remembering that the removal of the long-serving archbishop,

[16] Ibid. pp. xxiii, 9–10.
[17] *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, ed. J. C. Atkinson and John Brownbill, 6 vols, Chetham Society, new series 9, 11, 14, 74, 76, and 78, 1886–1919, III, no. 384 at p. 593.
[18] Burton, 'English Monasteries and the Continent', 100–2.
[19] Having married Alice de Gant, widow of Ilbert de Lacy and sister of Gilbert de Gant, Roger drew a convent of Augustinian canons from the Gant monastery of Bridlington to found Newburgh priory.
[20] *Foundation History*, pp. xi, 20, 22–3.

Thurstan, came at a crucial time.[21] Not only had William fitz Duncan, nephew of the Scottish king, overrun the north-west, but the advance of King David I south through Northumbria had only been halted at Northallerton in 1138 at the battle of the Standard, at which Archbishop Thurstan had been an important figurehead.[22]

Among the voices raised against the election, as his successor, of William fitz Herbert, treasurer of the cathedral church of York, were those of two Cistercian abbots, of Rievaulx and Fountains, houses both founded (in very different ways) in 1132, and both daughter houses of the Burgundian abbey of Clairvaux then under the leadership of the forceful St Bernard. Something tempted two abbots of an order, the Cistercian order, that professed a desire to remain detached from the world, out of their cloisters to participate in a major ecclesiastical dispute and to join forces with members of the York chapter, and others, who were determined to remove William fitz Herbert. Given that the election had taken place in the presence of the king's earl of York, William of Aumale, it was clear that opposition to fitz Herbert was opposition to the wishes of the king. Moreover, that the hostility to fitz Herbert was sustained for years, was largely due to the Cistercians. This continued opposition was in part a product of links between the Yorkshire houses and the nerve centre of the Cistercian order. It also intensified these links, and the escalation of Cistercian input into the affair is nowhere more forcibly demonstrated than Bernard of Clairvaux's dispatch of his disciple, Henry Murdac, to oversee the election of a new abbot of Fountains, with instructions to comply with the monks' wishes should they elect him to the office: 'I charge you, Brother Henry, that you submit out of charity to the choice of our brothers at Fountains if, with the advice of the venerable abbot of Rievaulx, they elect you as their abbot'.[23] John of Hexham was in no doubt as to Bernard's intention in sending Henry to Fountains:

> Richard, second abbot of Fountains, died. Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux sent over to govern that place Henry Murdac, abbot of Vauclair, a man of distinguished nobility but even more outstanding for the virtue of his manner of life . . . Taking heart from this, those who were opposed to William the archbishop met together, and this man Henry with them, who took much upon himself because he enjoyed apostolic favour. Because they urged an appeal against this archbishop of York, Hincmar was recalled and returned to Rome, taking the pallium back with him.[24]

The crowning of Cistercian success came with the election of Henry Murdac as archbishop following the deposition of William fitz Herbert by the Cistercian pope, Eugenius III, in 1147.

I have argued elsewhere that there may have been a connection between Cistercian involvement in the York election and the expansion of the order, which reached its height in King Stephen's reign, and that the Cistercians' opposition to the king's candidate for York gave them a high profile that won them supporters among the Angevins.[25] It is beyond the remit of this paper to discuss in detail the political

21 For a convenient summary of the literature see Christopher Norton, *St William of York*, York 2006, 76–9 and for a full discussion of the dispute, ibid. 76–123.

22 For references to Thurstan's role, see, for example, Henry of Huntingdon, in Huntingdon, 712–13; Richard of Hexham in *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, III, 159–60; Ailred of Rievaulx, *Relatio de Standardo*, ibid. III, 181–99 at 182.

23 *S. Bernardi Opera*, VI and VII, *Epistolae*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, Rome 1974, no. 321; *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. Bruno Scott James, London 1953, no. 174.

24 Translated from John of Hexham, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 284–332 at 317–18.

25 For the relationship between the disorders of the period, and particularly the disputed election, and Cistercian growth see Janet Burton, 'The Foundation of the British Cistercian Houses', in *Cistercian Art*

implications of Cistercian participation in this major ecclesiastical controversy. I would like rather to draw attention to the violent consequences for Fountains abbey. There are two writers who record physical attacks on the abbey or its property as a direct result of Cistercian involvement in the York affair. One is John, prior of the Augustinian house of Hexham, who was writing in the 1160s. The other is a much later, though well informed source, Hugh of Kirkstall, author of the *Narratio de Fundatione* of Fountains Abbey, which he wrote in the early thirteenth century. John of Hexham notes that after William's suspension, but before Murdac's election as archbishop, a group of supporters of Archbishop William, which included some of his kinsmen, attacked a property of Fountains abbey, possibly one of its granges, and burnt the crops.

> Moved by the injury done to William, certain knights who were his kinsmen burnt a property belonging to the monks of Fountains, with the abundance of goods that had been gathered together and stored there. A complaint was made about this in the presence of the pope, who wished very much that he could lay hands on the said William and take revenge on him.[26]

The implication is that Henry, as abbot of Fountains, along with his monastery, continued to be identified by the fitz Herbert party, as one of its main enemies. Hugh of Kirkstall gave a more graphic account of events. The author describes William's deposition, and then continues:

> The factions that supported William were angry at his removal and not being able to contain their disappointment they dared to do wicked deeds. For certain knights who were related to him gathered together in a great band and conspired together, and tried with drawn swords to destroy the venerable abbot of Fountains, Henry, as if he were the author of William's downfall. They came to Fountains, armed, and breaking in through the doors, they arrogantly entered the sanctuary. They ran through the monastic buildings and took booty, and when they did not find the abbot whom they sought, they reduced to ashes with fire the holy buildings that had been constructed with such great labour. They had no regard for the monastic order; they had no regard for the altar. The holy convent stood near by and saw with no little pain in their hearts the buildings constructed with their sweat surrounded by flames, soon to be ashes. Of these alone was saved among such great dangers the oratory with the neighbouring offices. This oratory, as it is believed, was reserved for the use of prayer, and it was itself half burned like a firebrand snatched from the fire. The holy abbot lay stretched out in prayer at the foot of the altar. He was seen by no-one; he was not wounded by anyone, for the hand of God protected him.[27]

The late fourteenth-century chronicle of Meaux abbey, whose author would doubtless have had access to the records of the mother house of Fountains, also speaks of an attack on the abbey itself after Murdac's consecration in December 1147:

> When the kinsmen and friends of the said William grieved that his election had been quashed they sought revenge on Henry himself and sought satisfaction by ending his life. But they could not find him as he lay in prayer in the church of Fountains, even though he was in their sight and in their presence, because God had blinded them.

and Architecture in the British Isles, ed. Christopher Norton and David Park, Cambridge 1986, 24–39, and *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, 112–24.

26 Translated from John of Hexham, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 318–19.

27 Translated from *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, ed. J. R. Walbran, Surtees Society 42, 1863, 97–102.

> Driven on by their blindness and their madness they burnt the very monastery of Fountains.[28]

Thus, the involvement of the abbots of Rievaulx and Fountains in the disputed election at York had serious consequences for the monastic order and especially for Fountains abbey. In particular the continued identification of Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountains, as a prime opponent of William fitz Herbert, led to the abbey being physically attacked and burnt. Hugh was writing well after the event. A monk of Kirkstall, itself a daughter house of Fountains, he was writing at the express invitation of the then abbot of Fountains, and might well, therefore, be suspected of exaggerating the extent of the damage. However, other evidence suggests independent corroboration for Hugh's account and that of John of Hexham, and more generally for the involvement of Fountains in the disorders of the period.

The first corroboration of attacks on Fountains comes from narrative sources, the *Narratio de Fundatione* of Fountains abbey, and the chronicle of Meaux abbey. Both Hugh of Kirkstall and Thomas Burton noted that on William fitz Herbert's restoration to the see of York after Murdac's death in 1153 he made a grant in restitution for damage done to Fountains abbey by his supporters. Hugh of Kirkstall noted that William *spospondit se monasterio de Fontibus, per omnia satisfacturum de injuriis et dampnis quae per se vel sui causa fratribus fuerant illata* ('hurried to the monastery of Fountains to make satisfaction in all matters for the injuries and evils that were visited on the brethren either by himself or for his sake').[29] Following his account of the attack on Fountains and of Archbishop William's restoration, Thomas Burton, the Meaux chronicler, notes: *At postea monasterio de Fontibus pro combustione ipsius monasterii solenniter satisfecit* ('and afterwards he made solemn restitution to the monastery of Fountains for the burning of the same house').[30] In other words, Archbishop William seems to have accepted that Fountains abbey had suffered violence at the hands of his supporters. Evidence of another kind exists to confirm that Fountains did sustain damage at about this time. Excavations at the abbey in the 1980s revealed evidence of substantial fire damage in the east and west cloister ranges as well as parts of the church.[31] This damage has been dated by archaeologists to the 1140s; in the south transept the fire was severe enough to melt the window glass and bring down the wall plaster. Some of the fabric shows signs of repair, but a decision was evidently taken in the 1150s to rebuild parts of the monastery. This, then, provides physical evidence of the attacks that took place.

Charters provide evidence that Fountains abbey and its properties suffered in other ways in this period. In a charter which Diana Greenway dates to between 1151 and 1155, Roger de Mowbray made a grant to Fountains abbey. Roger states:

> I make this donation to them first in recompense for their grain that Lord Henry, archbishop of York, gave them, and that my men seized at Ripon, and then in perpetual alms free and quit from all claims, for the salvation of my soul and those of my father and mother and my wife and my sons.[32]

28 Translated from *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. Edward A. Bond, 3 vols, RS 43, 1866–8, I, 115.

29 *Memorials of Fountains*, 109–10.

30 *Chronica de Melsa*, I, 116–17.

31 Glyn Coppack, *English Heritage Book of Fountains Abbey*, London 1993, 32–4; R. Gilyard-Beer and Glyn Coppack, 'Excavations at Fountains Abbey, North Yorkshire, 1979–80: The Early Development of the Monastery', *Archaeologia* 108, 1986, 147–88.

32 Translated from *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray, 1107–1191*, ed. D. E. Greenway, British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, new series 1, 1972, no. 102. A similar charter (ibid. no. 103) adds that the monks had given Roger 83 marks *in mea magna necessitate.*

He also gave permission for the monks to move their grange of Dacre, should they wish to do so, to anywhere on his demesne, within one league of its current location. It is just possible that the grange of Dacre in Nidderdale, not far from Fountains, is that referred to by John of Hexham as having been attacked by William fitz Herbert's supporters. If the damage were severe enough, relocation may have been considered. However the seizure of the abbey grain is not likely to have been politically motivated, but more likely to represent the requisitioning of monastic property and goods in a time of warfare. Ripon was a manor of the archbishop of York, a place where Henry Murdac spent much of his time after his election in 1147 and before his reconciliation with the king and with the citizens of York in 1151, and what would be more likely than that he should set aside grain for his monks in these difficult times? There may have been no malice in the seizure. By 1147 Roger de Mowbray was firmly in the Angevin camp, and therefore would have been found among the supporters rather than the opponents of Henry Murdac. Indeed two years later he joined Ranulf of Chester, David of Scotland, and Henry of Anjou in an attempt to take York, a campaign in which Henry Murdac was probably involved.[33] Moreover further charters show both Roger and his wife, Alice de Gant, as benefactors of Fountains throughout the 1140s and 1150s.[34] It was not an attack on Fountains abbey; it was the seizure of goods necessary to support military action in a time of war. Twenty years after its foundation and uncertain beginnings the abbey of Fountains was a prosperous going concern, and as such must have been a tempting source of supplies for even its admirers and supporters like Roger de Mowbray. This seizure of goods was no isolated example.

Selby, Pontefract, and baronial rivalry

The attacks on Fountains came about as the result of the association of the abbey with the activities of its abbot, and with a particular political cause. But as the final part of my paper will demonstrate, monasteries might suffer because of their identification with the interests of their founders or patrons, or – merely by being associated with their patrons, and located on their lands – they might come under attack. Here I would like to look at evidence of monastic involvement in the more general political infighting among the Yorkshire baronage of the period. Violent attacks are recorded against a number of monasteries. The surviving evidence – though survival may indeed be misleading or distorting – suggests that among the worst hit was Selby abbey. Selby, the first post-Conquest monastic foundation in the north, began life as a hermitage, then came under royal patronage, and was subsequently granted to the archbishops of York. The main source for the abbey in its first hundred years or so is the *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii*, written by a monk of the abbey in 1174.[35] The author provides some information about the abbots of this important house. The second abbot, Hugh (1096/7 to 1122), is traditionally associated with the Lacy family of Pontefract; he set the foundations of the abbey's territorial power.[36] The fourth abbot was elected in 1137; after a two-year vacancy, at the request of the

33 On this see Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 225–7.
34 *Mowbray Charters*, nos. 104–8.
35 Printed in *The Coucher Book of Selby*, ed. J. T. Fowler, 2 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 10 and 13, 1890–2, I, 1–54 [hereafter cited as *Selby Coucher*]. I am preparing a new edition, with translation. In the text all translations are mine.
36 Ibid. 22–6.

pope and under the direction of Archbishop Thurstan, the monks chose Walter, prior of Pontefract, a Lacy foundation.[37] On Walter's death in 1143 a man named Elias Paynel was elected abbot. He was at the time of his promotion head of the Paynel monastery of Holy Trinity, York. A former soldier, he was also well connected, being a cousin of William Paynel, lord of nearby Drax, and very probably a member of the powerful Lacy family, related to Henry de Lacy.[38]

Although some of these family connections are tenuous, it is just possible, therefore, that Elias was the third abbot of Selby in fifty years to have been related to the Lacys of Pontefract. In his chapter on the election of Elias the Selby historian comments on his effectiveness in defending the abbey estates:

> Being ordained he governed well, because he excelled at many things, and chiefly in this way, that he manfully protected the possessions of the monastery from the violence of its enemies and robbers although he knew that in that time of vicious devastation when the cruelty of tyrants and frenzy of thiefs prevailed he might overpower and despoil of their goods anyone unequal in strength.[39]

There are here suggestions that at the time of his election – 1143 – Selby abbey was under threat. Indeed, one of Elias Paynel's first actions on becoming abbot of Selby was to collaborate with Henry de Lacy in the building of a castle there. The author is in no doubt of the abbot's complicity in the building of Selby castle. 'It happened in his time that Henry de Lacy, who was a kinsman of his, having talked with him and taken his advice, raised a castle at Selby'.[40] This is an unambiguous statement that Elias was acting in concert with the lord of Pontefract, and was involved in the construction of the castle. But why? And what purpose was the castle intended to serve?

The history of the Lacy family suggests that the appointment of Elias as abbot and his willingness to see a castle constructed at Selby came at a significant time. The family was restored to its Yorkshire estates in the person of Ilbert de Lacy II in 1135. Ilbert held the honour for six years until his death, probably in 1141, when it passed to his brother, Henry. The building of Selby castle in 1143, therefore, came early in Henry's tenure of the honour and within ten years of the Lacy restoration. The election of an abbot, with strong connections to the Lacys, at precisely this time, becomes even more interesting. A castle at Selby would serve to protect both the Lacy estates which lay to the east of the caput of the honour at Pontefract, and the abbey estates which lay between Selby and Pontefract. And both seem to have been in some danger.[41]

According to the Selby historian, the building of the castle impinged on the ambitions of other powerful lords in the area, notably William of Aumale, Stephen's earl of York, and this led to armed conflict.

> A week had not passed before Count William of Aumale, who was in conflict with Henry, learnt of this and hurried to besiege the castle, which had been begun.[42]

Much of our evidence for the involvement of the abbey and the town in the civil war of the period comes from the *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii*. This a complex

37 Ibid. 31–2.
38 Ibid. 33.
39 Ibid. The Lacy estates came within two miles of Selby but did not include Selby itself. See W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194*, Oxford 1966, 76–7.
40 *Selby Coucher*, I, 33.
41 Wightman, *Lacy Family*, 76–7.
42 *Selby Coucher*, I, 33.

composition, but the second part of the text seems to have been designed to boost the cult of St Germanus, whose relic was preserved at the abbey. The text demonstrates the all-round miraculous powers of the relic and hence of the saint. In the course of so doing it makes it clear that the abbey suffered in the fighting.

> First he [William of Aumale] attacked the town with eager and raging assaults but he was kept at bay for a long time by the steadfastness of the fighters. At length, however, he found a secret way in through the offices of the monastery. Meanwhile on account of fear of the advancing enemy and the unbridled assault of robbers people took refuge in the cemetery under the protection of the church, with their household goods that they were able to carry. Bands of enemies and robbers entered the town and concentrated their strength and their efforts on the seizure of plunder and the amassing of booty. But when they found the houses empty of their goods and their occupants, many of them decided in their cruel greed to break into the church. One of these evil doers who was more daring than the rest tore down the doors of the church from its bolts and cast down the stake he had used as a lever on the threshold. All those standing by cried out with a loud voice to the heavens, and begged the blessed Germanus to defend them, to protect his house and to confound their enemies. They begged him not to let the evil and sacrilegious wretch persist in his crime.[43]

And the wretch came to a predictably sticky end. And again:

> Afterwards the enemies violently entered the town and having entered it pillaged it with violent greed. They spread out in order to plunder but after a while gathered together in line of battle. They besieged Henry's castle, which was only defended by a garrison, with all the strength they could muster for the whole day but they made no progress with their vain efforts They were aggrieved that they had wasted the whole day until evening. They decided to take revenge for the resistance to their attack; they doomed the town to the flames and put it to the torch. The fire found nourishment everywhere and did not rest until it had engulfed almost the whole fabric of the town and reduced it to nothing as if it had been in a furnace. Then there occurred an extraordinary miracle around the chapel of the blessed Bishop Germanus, which I mentioned earlier in the previous book. It remained untouched as all the flames licked around it and it was preserved unharmed from the savage onslaught of the flames even though they were so close to the buildings that were burning that the fire was only a hair's breadth away. This filled the enemy with such wonder that they spoke to each other in amazement.[44]

At last, the author tells us, the castle fell to the count, and the soldiers of Henry laid waste and devastated the land around.

It is quite clear what the consequences were, for the abbey and its monks, of the construction of the castle and its seige. But was this anything more than a case of being caught in the crossfire? This brings us back to the reason for the construction of the castle, and Abbot Elias's part in it. In 1143 Henry de Lacy was not in a strong position. The Lacy forces had been defeated at Clitheroe in 1137 by William fitz Duncan prior to his devastation of Cumbria, and the western estates were still vulnerable to attack. We know from other sources that Henry was engaged in warfare with Gilbert de Gant as well as William of Aumale. His need to secure his estates around the caput at Pontefract must have been paramount, and the Selby region was clearly a cockpit for competing ambitions.[45] Moreover, both Lacy and Aumale would have seen the strategic need to control Selby, located as

43 Ibid. 33–4.
44 Ibid. 36–7.
45 A point also made by Paul Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 171–2, 188–9, 217–18.

it was on the river Ouse, and in a position to control the traffic to and from York. The importance of the river is demonstrated by a number of charters of Roger de Mowbray in favour of Selby, which give evidence of how far the abbey properties were vulnerable to attack. Between 1143 and 1153 Roger granted the monks the manor of Middlethorpe, two miles south of York on the river Ouse, 'for the damages and injuries I have inflicted on the church'. This they were to hold until Roger should recover York castle, when he would give them an exchange of land to the same value.[46] Here Roger is admitting 'damage and injury' to the church, though whether physical assault or seizure of property is not clear. The latter is suggested by a second charter, in which he spoke of restoring to the monks another property on the river Ouse, Acaster Selby, about six miles from York. The charter, addressed to Leising and Chetell and all Roger's men of Acaster, confirmed to Abbot Elias and the monks land in Acaster Selby, with a specific promise to protect the monks from forcible disseisin and to restore the land should they be deprived of it.[47] Such were the uncertainties monasteries in the area faced in the 1140s and 1150s.

Similar anticipation of how a monastery might be vulnerable can be seen in a grant by the dean and chapter of York to the monks of Pontefract of half the vill of Ledsham for ten marks a year, with the proviso that they were to be spared the rent 'if by any chance the vill itself shall be depopulated either as the result of barrenness or any other devastation'.[48] Ledsham lies about a mile and a half east of the great north road, some four miles north of Pontefract and ten miles south-west of Selby, once again in the general area of strife between the Lacys and Aumale and Aumale and Roger de Mowbray.

So what are we to make of the evident suffering caused to Selby abbey in the course of the civil war? In one way the abbey seems simply to have been in the wrong place. It was vulnerable to attack. Its location on the banks of the Ouse, with its potential to control commerce to and from York must have made it something of a prize, hence the struggle for control of the castle between William, earl of York, and Henry de Lacy. Moreover, it may be significant that the two properties granted or restored to Selby by Roger were located on the Ouse and on the line of communication between York and Selby, which it may have been vital to control. Yet for all that the sources tend towards a picture of Selby abbey as the innocent victim, the pawn or the prize, it is hard to ignore the continued domination of the Lacy interest in Selby through its abbots, and the apparent complicity of Abbot Elias in the construction of Selby castle. Have we here one abbot who failed to leave behind his family connections but took them firmly inside the abbey walls? This interpretation is reinforced by the subsequent career of Elias. In 1152 Elias Paynel resigned, allegedly at the instigation of Archbishop Henry Murdac, who quashed the attempt of the monks to elect one of their own as successor to Elias and intruded his own candidate, German, monk of St Albans and prior of the dependency at Tynemouth. The author of the *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii* explained Murdac's actions as the result of his resentment at the failure of Elias and others to back his own election in 1147.[49] This interpretation has never really been questioned. However, since by 1152 five years had elapsed since Murdac's election this explanation is not convincing, and moreover Murdac could have moved against Elias at the same time that he

46 *Mowbray Charters*, no. 255; Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 168–9.
47 *Mowbray Charters*, no. 254.
48 Farrer, *EYC*, III, no. 1472.
49 *Selby Coucher*, I, 44–5.

removed Abbot Benedict of Whitby in 1148.[50] It is more likely that we can find an explanation for his removal in the way in which the monks were drawn into the violence that erupted in the Selby area in the 1140s, and which impacted heavily on both the abbey and town.

The period was one of negotiation and renegotiation of alliances as baronial fortunes rose and fell. From an optimistic start to his majority in 1138 – praised for his courage at the battle of the Standard and patron of a new monastery – Roger de Mowbray suffered land losses in northern England to the Scots and in Normandy to the Angevins. In 1141 he was captured at the battle of Lincoln and then forced by Earl Ranulf of Chester to marry the widow of Ilbert de Lacy (Pontefract) who was the sister of Gilbert de Gant. Gilbert de Gant was to marry the earl's niece, Rohaise. It is after this that we find Abbot Gerald of Hood taking his abbey, now under Roger's patronage, away from the authority of Stephen's abbey of Furness, and that the Selby evidence shows Roger locked in conflicting interests with Stephen's earl of York, William of Aumale.[51]

These marriages created alliances, some of them beneficial to the monastic order. It may well have been to cement and proclaim his relationship with his new brother-in-law, Gilbert de Gant, that Roger founded Newburgh priory, taking canons from Gilbert's monastery at Bridlington. But such marriages might also reinforce local rivalries, of which only a few can be mentioned as a conclusion to this paper. Paul Dalton has drawn attention to the struggles between William of Aumale, Ranulf, earl of Chester, and Alan of Richmond, for control of the hundreds around Bridlington and Hunmanby during the minority of Gilbert de Gant.[52] During the course of this struggle for valuable estates the town and port – and priory – of Bridlington came under threat.

William of Newburgh notes how William 'drove out the regular clerks and invaded and defiled the church of Bridlington', while John of Hexham records that William then fortified the priory, stabling his horses in the monastery buildings.[53] Gilbert de Gant himself attacked Pontefract priory, which was of the patronage of Henry de Lacy, his former brother-in-law. In 1154 Gilbert made a grant to Pontefract in recognition of the damage done to the monastery in the war between him and de Lacy.

> for the very great injuries that I, by my own exigent fault, brought on the said church and monks during the war between me and Henry de Lacy. And the monks themselves have caused me to be absolved from that sentence of excommunication by which they excommunicated me, and have received me into full confraternity of their church and the whole of their order.[54]

It may have been war damage that led to the rebuilding of the east end of the priory

50 Abbot Benedict resigned *non ferens molestias a quibusdam suis adversariis sibi illatas*. His enemies are not named but the date – 1148 – is significant and Murdac may have been among them. See *Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby*, ed. J. C. Atkinson, 2 vols, Surtees Society 69 and 72, 1878–9, I, 8–10.

51 See Janet Burton, '*Fundator noster:* Roger de Mowbray as Founder and Patron of Monasteries', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. Emilia Jamroziak and Janet E. Burton, Turnhout 2006, 23–39.

52 Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 162–8.

53 William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, I, 47; John of Hexham, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 315.

54 Translated from *The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, ed. Richard Holmes, 2 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 25 and 30, 1898–1901, II, no. 400 at p. 521.

church around this time, the church being consecrated by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Évêque between 1154 and 1161.[55]

As I suggested was the case with Roger de Mowbray's men seizing grain from Fountains abbey, monasteries might also suffer from requisition of their property. It was during his struggle with Gilbert de Gant that Henry de Lacy had evidently seized property from the canons of his own monastery of Nostell, for between 1153 and 1155 Henry stated that Prior Savard and the canons

> absolved me of all the evils I did them and forgave me the plunder which I took from them and the capture of their men and all I took from their land in the time of war.[56]

Monastic estates that lay in the path of baronial ambition undoubtedly suffered. Paul Dalton has suggested that it was an attempt by Roger de Mowbray to build a castle at Myton on Swale to halt the advance of William of Aumale into north Yorkshire that led to his requisitioning of property from St Mary's, York, and substantial devastation there. Roger was moved to make restoration to the abbey in recompense for 'many great injuries that have been done many times to the abbey of York'. These included the extortion of castle works and *tensarie* (protection money) and the destruction of the abbey's bridge.[57]

The evidence, documentary, literary and archaeological, argues that the monastic order in the north of England did not – and could not – remain aloof from the political and military struggles that were such a feature of the period. The instances I have discussed are only some of the documented occurrences of violence against monastic houses, and we might venture to say that there were more that went unrecorded in the chronicles and cartularies. Yet the acts of restitution, of which Henry de Lacy's grant to Nostell is only one, suggest that the temporary discomfort might be eased by acts of contrition that brought more long-term rewards. It was a twelfth-century historian, William of Newburgh, writing in the area that has formed the focus of this paper, who noted that the period of great unrest produced the greatest upsurge in monastic foundations.[58] His assessment was not far wrong.

55 Farrer, *EYC*, III, no. 1477.
56 Ibid. no. 1497.
57 *Mowbray Charters*, no. 318; Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 184.
58 William of Newburgh, in *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, I, 53.

WRITING CIVIL WAR IN HENRY OF HUNTINGDON'S *HISTORIA ANGLORUM*

Catherine A. M. Clarke

The publicity poster for Guillermo del Toro's 2006 film *Laberinto del Fauno* or *Pan's Labyrinth* centres on the image of a huge dead tree trunk, split in two, which, as we later learn in the film, is the gateway to a deep cleft in the earth – a dark and strange underground world.[1] Set against the backdrop of the Spanish Civil War, del Toro's film is permeated with images of ruptured earth, splits in the ground, the land literally tearing itself apart to reveal dark and disturbing phenomena within. Whilst the film does include direct representations of violence and atrocity, del Toro's use of metaphor and the alienating, unsettling power of the fantastic offers a far more powerful and affecting evocation of the trauma of civil conflict. Writing civil war is a challenging and difficult project. Civil war is a traumatic experience for both individuals and communities, which resists simple narrative and exceeds the conventions of direct historiographical representation. Whilst direct accounts of the chaos and horror of civil war can be reductive and simplifying, the trauma of civil conflict is often displaced to emerge through metaphor and symbolism. The disturbing experience of civil war can even impact on language itself, affecting style, structure, and voice and leaving perhaps unexpected traces in textual memorials.

This paper will explore how Henry of Huntingdon writes civil war in the *Historia Anglorum*, with particular focus on book X, 'De hoc presenti' or 'The Present Time' and its account of the reign of Stephen. As a literary specialist, rather than a historian, I am particularly interested in Henry's stylistic techniques and the verses embedded within the text. I want to look beyond the direct historical narrative of the *Historia Anglorum* to examine the more complex, experimental, and radical ways in which Henry communicates the idea of civil conflict. I hope to ask questions about Henry's style, sources, and aims, as well as wider questions about what poetry might be able to do which conventional historiographical prose cannot. Elaine Scarry is amongst the many cultural theorists who have called attention to the violence which war enacts upon language. Scarry comments in particular on the 'unanchored quality' of language in war, describing the destabilization or distortion of ordinary linguistic systems in propaganda, euphemism, and strategic rhetoric as the 'derealization of verbal meaning' or 'dissolution of language'.[2] I suggest that civil war can manifest itself in language and textual representation in specific ways, prompting stylistic features such as split perspectives, fragmented or divided voices, and even what we might describe as a lack of textual coherence or unity. As I explore these features in the *Historia Anglorum*, my discussion will be informed by recent work on stylistic responses to civil war in Lucan's *Bellum civile* (or *Pharsalia*, or *Civil War*), the

1 I would like to express my thanks to Diana Greenway for reading a draft version of this paper, and to my late colleague Ifor Rowlands for a conversation which initiated my research on this topic. I would also like to acknowledge the helpful comments of many participants at the Battle Conference 2008.

2 Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*, Oxford 1985, 133–4.

'*locus classicus* for the treatment of the subject of civil war' in the Middle Ages,[3] and a particularly influential source for Henry of Huntingdon's work.

But first, I want to justify my use of the terms 'civil war' and 'civil conflict' – and the specific phrase 'the Anarchy' – in relation to the twelfth century and the reign of Stephen. Some modern historians, including David Crouch, have disputed that the Anarchy ever occurred in the form represented by twelfth-century historical texts, urging caution in our treatment of sources which represent chaotic civil conflict.[4] Yet whatever the current debates about the level of breakdown of social order or extent of violence in the period, the Anarchy was perceived as such by contemporary medieval writers and was undoubtedly remembered as a period of extreme chaos and conflict. For example, in the entry for 1137, the Peterborough Chronicle continuator writes that:

> I ne can ne I ne mai tellen alle þe wunder ne alle þe pines ðat hi diden wrecce men on þis land; 7 ðat lastede þa xix wintre wile Stephne was king, 7 æure it was uuerse 7 uuerse.[5]
>
> I am neither able, nor wish to, tell all the horrors nor all the tortures that they did to the wretched men in this land; and that lasted nineteen winters while Stephen was king, and it always became worse and worse.

Significantly, the Chronicle acknowledges here the impossibility of directly articulating the full horror of Stephen's reign. The experience of civil conflict and social disintegration cannot be contained within conventional historiographical discourse and cannot be fully transcribed in the neat annals of the Chronicle format. There is a suggestion here that the traditional model of neat historiographical prose is not an adequate vehicle for the communication of the deeply disturbing experience of civil war.[6]

Henry of Huntingdon himself employs a number of strategies to represent civil war in book X of the *Historia Anglorum*. These strategies include direct narrative, the use of metaphor or allegory, and, the main focus of my interest here, experiments in style and structure which fuse subject with idiom – linking the theme of civil conflict with literary forms which respond to the disrupting and dividing experience of civil war itself. Summarizing the events of the Anarchy directly, Henry describes this rupture in the even transfer of royal power, and the chaos and violence throughout the kingdom.

> Iam quippe curie sollennes et ornatus regii scematis, ab antiqua serie descendens, prorsus euanuerant, ingens thesauri copia iam deperierat, pax in regno nulla, cedibus, incendiis, rapinis, omnia exterminabantur, clamor et luctus et horror ubique.
>
> At this time, to be sure, the ceremonies of the court and the custom of royal crown-wearings, handed down from the ancient line, had completely died out; the huge store of treasure had by now disappeared; there was no peace in the realm, but through

3 George M. Logan, 'Lucan – Daniel – Shakespeare: New Light on the Relation between *The Civil Wars* and *Richard II*', *Shakespeare Studies* 9, 1976, 121–40 at 125. Diana Greenway also notes that 'Lucan was one of the authors studied in depth in the eleventh and twelfth centuries': 'Authority, Convention and Observation in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*', *ANS* 18, 1995, 105–21. See also discussion below, p. 43.

4 David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135–1154*, Harlow 2000, 1–7.

5 *The Peterborough Chronicle, 1070–1154*, ed. Cecily Clark, 2nd edn, Oxford 1970, 56.

6 Contemporary trauma theory can offer a useful interpretative framework for twelfth-century texts and their responses to the Anarchy. See Catherine A. M. Clarke, 'Signs and Wonders: Writing Trauma in Twelfth-Century England', *Reading Medieval Studies* 35, forthcoming 2009.

> murder, burning, and pillage everything was being destroyed, everywhere the sound of war, with lamentation and terror.[7]

Even here, there is clearly a potential metaphorical resonance, with the 'huge store of treasure' which has 'now disappeared' suggesting the wasted moral worth and value of the nation as much as literal wealth. But, elsewhere in book X of the *Historia*, Henry employs more obvious and developed metaphor to suggest the degeneration and corruption of the kingdom. His account of the rotting corpse of King Henry is a passage familiar from anthologies and undergraduate reading lists. Yet it does convey a compelling sense of apprehension and horror – perhaps eliciting a more powerfully affective response than the direct description of civil war. The image of the king's unburied, rotting body creates a sense of unease or dis-ease which establishes a context for the ensuing civil war narrative.

> Inde uero corpus regium Cadomum sui deportauerunt. Vbi diu in ecclesia positum, in qua pater eius sepultus fuerat, quamuis multo sale repletum esset et multis corris reconditum, tamen continue ex corpore niger humor et horribilis coria pertransiens decurrebat, et uasis sub feretro susceptus a ministris horrore fatiscentibus abiciebatur. Vide igitur quicumque legis, quomodo regis potentissimi corpus, cuius ceruix diadematizata auro et gemmis electissimis, quasi Dei splendore, uernauerat, cuius utraque manus sceptris preradiauerat, cuius reliqua superficies auro textili tota rutilauerat, cuius os tam deliciosissimis et exquisitis cibis pasci solebat, cui omnes assurgere, omnes expauescere, omnes congaudere, omnes admirari solebant: uide, inquam, quo corpus illud deuenerit, quam horribiliter delicuerit, quam miserabiliter abiectum fuerit!

> They took the royal corpse to Caen, and it lay there for a time in the church in which his father had been buried. Although it had been filled with much salt and wrapped in many hides, a fearful black fluid ran down continuously, leaking through the hides, and being collected in vessels beneath the bier, was cast away by attendants who grew faint with dread. See, then, whoever you are reading this, how the corpse of a most mighty king, whose crowned head had sparkled with gold and the finest jewels, like the splendour of God, whose hands had shone with sceptres, while the rest of his body had been dressed in gorgeous cloth of gold, and his mouth had always fed on the most delicious and choice foods, for whom everyone would rise to their feet, whom everyone feared, with whom everyone rejoiced, and whom everyone admired: see what that body became, how fearfully it melted away, how wretchedly cast down it was![8]

This passage is obviously highly multivalent. Explicitly, it functions as a cautionary moral exemplar – a typical *memento mori* – whereby the rotting corpse of the once-great king functions as a warning about our shared vulnerability to death and the futility of earthly pride. The state of Henry's corpse after death is the complete antithesis of the pure, incorrupt saintly body of medieval hagiography, where virtue in life is manifested by bodily cleanliness and perfection even after death.[9] The rotting, disgusting corpse of Henry depicted here clearly also functions as a comment on the moral character and stature of the dead ruler – a fitting revelation for those who had complained of his greed and malice as king. But, given the prevalence of the body politic metaphor in political thought at this time,[10] the image of the dismembered, rotting corpse of Henry cannot but suggest and prefigure the

7 Huntingdon, 724–5 (x.12).
8 Ibid. 702–3 (x.1).
9 See further discussion in Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality*, Cambridge 1991, 1–2.
10 See for example John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. and trans. Cary J. Nederman, Cambridge 1990, esp. books IV and V.

coming civil conflict. The king's body lies unburied – a suggestion of the dereliction of proper duties and abandonment of ordinary decency to come – and the corrupt, disintegrating corpse mirrors the corruption and division now beginning to spread through the nation.

Later, in book XI of the *Historia* (the first collection of epigrams), Henry employs another extended metaphor to represent the current state of England, polluted with internal conflict and treachery.

> Garrula puri uenula fontis,
> Sorde replete reddere priscas
> Gurgite presso abnuit undas.
> Prodita iacti germina grani
> Grandine strata, flore subacto,
> Spem dominorum arbore querna
> Diruta ponunt. Abdita querens
> Rusticus olim mella canistris,
> Si subeunti plebs operosa
> Cesserit angui, in sinuosum
> Nescius hostem, sanguine cassus,
> Corda gelatus, conserit ungues.
> Sic quoque seuis Anglia merens
> Pressa tyrannis, sorde repleta,
> Diruta fraude, dulcia seuis
> Mella uenenis anxia mutat.

> The babbling trickle from a pure fountain is now filled with dirt, and, its stream obstructed, refuses to bring forth its water as of old. The betrayed fruits of the sown grain, laid low by hail, the flower subdued, destroyed as they are, leave their owners to put their hope [merely] in the oak-tree. Once a countryman, looking for baskets of hidden honey, if the crowd of workers has fled before an approaching snake, puts his hand on the sinuous enemy: his blood drains away, he is chill at heart. So too grieving England, oppressed by harsh tyrants, filled with dirt, overthrown by deceit, in troubled mood exchanges sweet honey for savage poisons.[11]

Here once again we find imagery of corruption and filth – the metaphor of the obstructed, polluted fountain which Henry explicitly glosses at the end of the verse. This is also a self-conscious anti-pastoral, an anti-Eden infected by the presence of betrayal, dirt, and the hidden snake. Of course, the lost landscape of innocence and harmony which Henry evokes resonates with the influential expositions of literary pastoral found in Virgil's *Eclogues* or perhaps consolation II, metre V (on the 'Golden Age') in Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*.[12] But, as a writer who knew Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* closely and drew on it extensively in the *Historia Anglorum*, Henry may also be alluding to Bede's seminal representation of Britain itself as a pastoral *locus amoenus*, which begins book I.[13] In Henry's epigram, Bede's famous image of Britain as the Edenic, delightful island nation –

11 Huntingdon, 794–7 (xi.19), 'De pressure Anglie' ('On England's Troubles'). For discussion of the metre and style of this epigram, see below, p. 38.

12 For Virgil's *Eclogues* see, for example, Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Æneid I–VI*, ed. and trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Cambridge MA 1935; for Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, ed. and trans. H. F. Stewart and others, Cambridge MA 1973, 206–7.

13 *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1969, 14–17. See also discussion in Catherine A. M. Clarke, *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England, 700*–1400, Cambridge 2006, 7–13.

filled with positive potential and promise – is inverted and unravelled. As with the image of the king's rotting corpse in book X, the indirect, metaphorical representation of civil conflict and rancour in this epigram elicits a powerful affective response which may perhaps elude direct chronicle narrative.

The main focus of this paper, however, will be on the third of Henry's strategies for writing civil war: his experimentation with style, voice, and structure which suggests the division, fragmentation, and instability associated with ongoing conflict within the nation. Whilst I will devote particular attention to two of the verses embedded within book X of the *Historia*, I will also look beyond the poetry to trace the continuation of these stylistic experiments within the main prose text. For a long time, the poetry of Henry of Huntingdon has not been regarded favourably by critics. Indeed, the verse has been neglected by literary scholars and often overlooked by historians.[14] However, led by the work of A. G. Rigg and Diana Greenway on the *Historia* and other texts, attitudes to Henry's poetry are now changing. Until recently, the only surviving poems of Henry of Huntingdon were thought to be the epigrams appended to the *Historia Anglorum* and the occasional poems embedded in the main text, whilst the majority of Henry's poetical work (six books of *Epigramata iocunda*, eight books *De amore*, a *De herbis* and two others) was lost. However, the recent rediscovery of both Henry's *De herbis* (a major poetical text of 3,359 lines on herbs and their uses) and the lengthy *De gemmis* adds substantially to his surviving *œuvre*, and strengthens our newly emerging picture of Henry as primarily poet, rather than historian. Indeed, Henry signs the *De herbis* as 'Henricus poeta'.[15] The evidence of later versions of the *Historia Anglorum* suggests that Henry became increasingly eager to identify himself as author of the verses within the text, suggesting a developing self-fashioning as poet and perhaps particular pride in this aspect of his work.[16] John Gillingham has recently made a persuasive case that Henry suffered thwarted ambitions to receive the patronage of Henry I, leading to a period of ambivalence towards the royal court and a temporary retreat from signing his verse, but that he may have begun to position himself strategically as potential court poet to Henry II in the 1150s, as he completed the final books of the *Historia* with their greater emphasis on poetry and Henry's own authorship.[17]

In her edition of the *Historia Anglorum*, Diana Greenway praises Henry's creative and varied style, in both the poetry and the wider historical narrative.

> In his use of heightened prose, direct speech, and dramatic and scandalous stories, and by interspersing his own poems, Henry sought to add dignity and beauty to the narrative … His training, after all, had not been in history or journalism, but in the liberal arts. Like the classical authors, he saw history as a branch of the art of rhetoric, in which language and form help to shape content. In today's terms, he was not a reporter, historian, or analyst, but an artist, writing equally well in verse and prose.[18]

14 A. G. Rigg notes that 'His poetic works … have received less attention': 'Henry of Huntingdon's Metrical Experiments', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1, 1991, 60–72 at 60.

15 Diana Greenway, 'Henry of Huntingdon as Poet: The *De herbis* Rediscovered', *Medium Ævum* 74, 2005, 329–32 at 329. See also Winston Black, 'Henry of Huntingdon's Lapidary Rediscovered and his *Anglicanus ortus* Reassembled', *Mediaeval Studies* 68, 2006, 43–87.

16 Huntingdon, p. cviii.

17 John Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon: In his Time (1135) and Place (between Lincoln and the Royal Court)', paper presented at the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences conference on 'Gallus Anonymous and his Chronicle in the Context of Twelfth-Century Historiography', Krakow 2007.

18 Huntingdon, p. lxvi.

The *Historia* is a highly self-conscious literary text, drawing on rhetorical tropes and set-pieces and specific models from classical sources. Influences on Henry's style include Sallust (especially in the battle speeches), Statius, Ovid, Virgil, and Martial.[19] But perhaps the most significant influence on the *Historia* in book X – and a particular point of interest for this discussion – is Lucan's *Bellum civile*.[20] In her introduction to the *Historia*, Greenway makes an emphatic case for the importance of Lucan to Henry's account of the reign of Stephen and perception of civil war.

> To Lucan, it might be said, Henry owed not simply some memorable turns of phrase, but the inspiration for his treatment of the civil war of Stephen's reign, with its set-pieces of battle-speeches and scenes of warfare, and even, to some extent, its characterization of the chief contenders.[21]

Other historians of the twelfth century also drew on Lucan to support their conceptualization and representation of the Anarchy, and Lucan remains a key source for understanding civil conflict well into the early modern period.[22] Lucan's account of the war between Caesar and the Roman Senate, led by Pompey, offers a paradigmatic vision of civil conflict, as well as a highly influential set of stylistic and structural elements for historiographers in the medieval period. (I will return to a fuller discussion of Lucan and his relation to Henry of Huntingdon later in this paper.) Interestingly, in book X of the *Historia*, as Henry recounts the events of Stephen's reign and his own personal experience, the text becomes even more stylized, ornate, and rhetorical.[23] As already noted, Lucan emerges as a major influence and model through which the events of the Anarchy are conceptualized and represented. Along with set-piece speeches and descriptions, the number of verses embedded within the text also increases here. Nancy Partner observes this stylistic change in the later books of the *Historia*, commenting that 'the poems that decorate the text throughout begin to proliferate, along with lengthy and fairly conventional speeches'.[24] Her choice of the word 'decorate', however, suggests that these verses are merely ornamental additions to the main text – an indulgence of Henry's poetic ambitions and aesthetic tastes, rather than a crucial part of his historical narrative. Diana Greenway picks up on the problematic connotations of the terminology of stylistic 'decoration' when she comments on rhetorical conventions more broadly in Henry's text. Responding to T. P. Wiseman's reference to rhetoric as 'Clio's cosmetics', Greenway contends that 'rhetorical conventions are not merely decorative: they pervade the whole text – its conception and structure, as well as its language'.[25] This premise is

19 Ibid. pp. xxxiv–xxxv. For general discussion of the influence of the classics on historiographical writing in England in the twelfth century, see Antonia Gransden, 'Realistic Observation in Twelfth-Century England', *Speculum* 47, 1972, 29–51, esp. 29–30. Greenway includes a discussion of the books available to Henry in the library at Lincoln – a small collection dominated by biblical and patristic texts – and concludes that 'Henry and his contemporaries … must have possessed books of their own' (Huntingdon, pp. xxxii–xxxiii).

20 See, for example, Greenway, 'Authority, Convention and Observation', 105, 110–11, 114.

21 Huntingdon, p. xxxv.

22 For William of Malmesbury's use of Lucan, see J. G. Haahr, 'William of Malmesbury's Roman Models', in *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. S. Bernardo and S. Levin, Binghampton NY 1990, 165–73, esp. 170–2. For a more general study of the uses of Lucan in the Middle Ages, see G. M. Logan, *Lucan in England: The Influence of the Pharsalia on English Letters from the Beginnings through the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge MA 1967, and discussion below, p. 43.

23 Greenway, 'Authority, Convention and Observation', 111.

24 Nancy F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England*, Chicago 1977, 26–7.

25 Greenway, 'Authority, Convention and Observation', 110.

fundamental to my own reading of the *Historia*: a conviction that form and content are intrinsically linked and that Henry experiments with style, voice, and structure in order to represent the experience – or idea – of civil conflict.

Certainly, evidence from elsewhere in the *Historia* suggests that Henry of Huntingdon was a sensitive reader alert to nuances of style and structure, and that he recognized the crucial interrelationship of form and content. Henry's translation of the Old English poem *The Battle of Brunanburh*, found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (versions A–D), is perhaps the clearest example of Henry's attempts to harmonize style and content and his self-conscious experimentation with literary form. In his translation of *Brunanburh*, Henry attempts to replicate in Latin verse the stylistic features of early English vernacular poetry, including alliteration and rhythm. Before his translation begins, Henry offers us an astute critical note on the original text and his response to it.

> De cuius prelii magnitudine Anglici scriptores quasi carminis modo proloquentes, et extraneis tam uerbis quam figuris usi translatione fida donandi sunt. Vt pene de uerbo in uerbum eorum interpretantes eloquium ex grauitate uerborum grauitatem actuum et animorum gentis illius condiscamus.

> The English writers describe the magnitude of this battle in a kind of song, using strange words and figures of speech, which must be given a faithful translation, rendering their eloquence almost word for word, so that from the solemnity of the words we may learn of the solemnity of the deeds and thoughts of that people.[26]

Henry's interest in the form and style of the poem is distinctive: John of Worcester, for example, makes no attempt to represent the account of Brunanburh as verse.[27] Furthermore, Diana Greenway notes that Henry's gloss to his version of *Brunanburh* is 'an interesting statement of the ancient theme that style should match content'.[28] The first few lines of Henry's translation of the Old English will serve to give an impression of his approach.

> Rex Adelstan, decus ducum, nobilibus torquium dator, et frater eius Edmundus, longa stirpis serie splendentes, percusserunt in bello acie gladii apud Brunebirih.

> King Æthelstan, flower of commanders, ring-giver to nobles, and Edmund his brother, the splendid products of a long unbroken lineage, struck with the sword's edge in battle at *Brunanburh*.[29]

Henry's translation of the Old English has not always met with approval – Alistair Campbell, notably, described it as 'atrocious'.[30] However A. G. Rigg's detailed study, edition and translation of the text have drawn attention to its ambitious, experimental nature, and the complexity of Henry's working. Rigg has shown convincingly that Henry's translation aims to imitate the distinctive idioms of Old English poetry. Looking beyond *Brunanburh* to the epigrams of books XI and XII, Rigg also suggests that:

26 Huntingdon, 310–11 (v.18).
27 John of Worcester, II, 392–3.
28 Greenway, 'Authority, Convention and Observation', 108.
29 Huntingdon, 310–11 (v.18).
30 *The Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. Alistair Campbell, London 1938, 148.

> Henry was combining his undoubted interest and skill in quantitative metres with an awareness of native verse patterns, and so produced an almost unique hybrid of Latin and vernacular poetic techniques.[31]

Rigg comments in particular on epigram 19, book XI ('Garrula puri …', cited above), suggesting that the use of adonics (verses of a dactyl and a spondee) and other features represent a deliberate attempt to convey the rhythms and style of Old English verse.

> I have no doubt that in these lines Henry was trying to reproduce the rhythms of native verse, by isolating the half-line as a verse unit, and employing rhyme, rhythm and alliteration for the purpose. His model would not necessarily have been Old English practice (though he knew of this through the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), but could equally have been the metrical habits of alliterative verse in the twelfth century.[32]

Of course, the self-conscious use of an 'Old English' idiom in epigram 19, with possible connotations of pre-Conquest heritage and nostalgia, is entirely appropriate for a poem on the present degeneration and ruin of a once-great nation. Henry's version of *The Battle of Brunanburh*, along with the evidence of the epigrams, shows an acute sensitivity to the connection between form and content, and a willingness to experiment with style and structure.[33] Henry's assimilation of vernacular and Latin conventions in these verses indicates an eagerness to explore new idioms and voices and an ease with quite radical stylistic innovation. Whilst Henry's poetry may not always be polished and neat – or even what we might judge as wholly successful – it shows a fundamental conviction that literary form should relate to subject-matter and context.

I want to focus now on two of the poems embedded within book X of the *Historia*. As these are not widely known, I shall reproduce both texts in full here. The first poem, from chapter 12, is described by Greenway as 'a lament in elegiacs on the evils of civil war, cast in the form of an apostrophe'.[34]

> Quis michi det fontem (quid enim potius?) lacrimarum,
> Vt lacrimer patrie gesta nefanda mee?
> Aduenit caligo Stigis dimissa profundo,
> Que regni faciem conglomerata tegit.
> Ecce furor, fremitus, incendia, furta, rapine,
> Cedes, nulla fides, consociata ruunt.
> Iam furantur opes et opum dominos et in ipsis
> Sopitos castris (o noua furta!) premunt.
> Periurare, fidem mentiri, nobile factum;
> Prodere uel dominos actio digna uiris.
> Contio predonum cimiteria, templa refringit,
> Iamque sacerdotes (res miseranda!) rapit.
> Detorquent unctos Domini, simul et mulieres,
> (Proh pudor!) ut redimant excruciare student.
> Affluit ergo fames consumpta carne gementes;
> Exalant animas ossa cutisque uagas.
> Quis tantos sepelire queat cetus morientum?
> Ecce Stigis facies consimilisque lues.

31 Rigg, 'Metrical Experiments', 68.
32 Ibid. 64–5.
33 Simon Walker has described Henry's version of *Brunanburh* as 'an early piece of literary criticism': 'A Context for "Brunanburh"?', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Studies presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. Timothy Reuter, London 1992, 21–39 at 21.
34 Greenway, 'Authority, Convention and Observation', 113.

> Who is to give me a fountain of tears (what better?), that I may weep for my country's impious deeds? Stygian gloom has come, released from the underworld, and thickly veils the face of the realm. See how rage, uproar, arson, robbery, pillage, murder, lack of faith, rush headlong to ruin. Already they are stealing riches, and – O novel robberies! – they bear down upon wealthy lords, even as they slumber in their castles. To break oaths, to make false promises, is a noble accomplishment; to betray even lords is the proper way for men to act. A gang of robbers breaks into graves and churches, and now – lamentable deed! – drags priests away. They torment the anointed of the Lord; and are keen to torture women too – O for shame! – to gain ransom. Their flesh consumed, hunger fills those who mourn; skin and bones breathe out their wandering souls. Who is to bury these great crowds of dying? Behold! Here is a glimpse of the Styx and a comparable plague.[35]

As with the powerful imagery of the film *Pan's Labyrinth*, which I discussed at the start of this paper, this poem centres on a disturbing metaphor of the earth torn apart. Through this rupture is exposed *caligo Stigis* or 'Stygian gloom', and a *Stigis facies* ('glimpse of the Styx') with all its darkness and horror is revealed. Guillermo del Toro's 2006 film may seem a comparison rather remote from twelfth-century historiography. But, interestingly, imagery of the earth torn apart also occurs repeatedly in chapters 27 and 28 of book I of William of Newburgh's *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, embedded within his account of the Anarchy.[36] These chapters, including the story of the green children of Woolpit and accounts of the series of strange creatures or objects found in fissures in the ground, have often been dismissed as strange folkloric diversions or playfulness with notions of authority and testimony.[37] However, I would suggest that this imagery of earth ruptured or fractured to reveal strange and disturbing phenomena within is a key metaphorical response to the anxieties, disturbances, and alienations of civil conflict.[38] Apart from this system of imagery, the poem also contains direct detail relating to the disorder and social disintegration of the Anarchy, adding substantially to the surrounding prose text which contains notably little information for the years 1139 or 1140.[39] Here it would seem that the poem is not merely embellishment or ornamentation, but has been chosen as the appropriate idiom – highly rhetorical and stylized – to carry key information about the chaos and horror of Stephen's reign. Greenway notes that the plea for 'a fountain of tears' (*fontem … lacrimarum*) resonates with Jeremiah 9:1,[40] and it seems that Henry deliberately appropriates the role of *vates* or poetic prophet, lamenting the fall of his people. The subsequent verses in Jeremiah are also highly relevant, referring to deceit and usurpation, and offer further support for the argument that Henry was recalling this text specifically.[41] We might also detect echoes of Old English literature here, in both the bursts of alliteration (see line 5 in particular) and the Wulfstanian comments on corruption and treachery.[42]

Stylistically, Henry's poem interrupts the neat, measured historiographical prose which surrounds it – it forms a literary intervention which wrests the subject-matter

35 Huntingdon, 724–5 (x.12).

36 William of Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs, Book I*, ed. and trans. P. G. Walsh and M. J. Kennedy, Warminster 1988, 114–21.

37 Partner, *Serious Entertainments*, 114; Monika Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century English Historical Writing*, Chapel Hill NC 1996, 102, 160–1.

38 For further discussion, see Clarke, 'Writing Trauma'.

39 Huntingdon, 724–5 n. 73.

40 Ibid. 725 n. 74.

41 Jeremiah 9:4–6.

42 See *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. Dorothy Bethurum, Oxford 1957.

of Stephen's reign into the (appropriate) domain of high rhetoric and emotion. The language of apostrophe is necessarily dramatic and dynamic, once again offering a striking contrast with the annalistic narrative within which it is immediately set. The form of the verse itself is interrupted and fragmented, with the repeated use of parenthesis and exclamation (for example, *o noua furta!* and *res miseranda!*) fracturing the flow and coherence of lines. Henry successfully sustains two parallel idioms in this poem: the polished discourse of eloquent description and lament for his country's troubles, and the brief, fragmentary interjections which suggest a pain beyond rhetorical articulation.[43] The poem, which fractures and interrupts the surrounding narrative, is itself fractured and divided. As Greenway notes, the inclusion of verse in a prose history was far from unusual in the medieval period, with numerous examples in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[44] Yet Henry's use of poetry here is perhaps particularly successful in its exploitation of the possibilities which verse offers: the opportunity to explore stylistically the drama, division, and fragmentation which his subject-matter suggests.

Moving now to book X, chapter 33, I want to look at the poem in the imagined voice of England, appealing to Duke Henry for aid. Written in the heroic metre of hexameters, the poem centres on the rhetorical device of personification – a frequent feature in Lucan to which I will return later.[45] Once again, I reproduce the text in full.

Dux Henrice, nepos Henrici maxime magni,
Anglia celsa ruo, nec iam ruo tota ruina.
Dicere uix possum 'fueram', 'sum' namque recessit.
Si michi que miseris superest uel spes superesset,
Clamarem, 'Miserere, ueni, succurre, resiste!
Nam sum iure tui iuris, potes, erige lapsam.'
Sed nunc ora rigent, nunc uox, nunc uita recedunt.
At quis clamor adest? 'Venit', ingeminant quoque, 'uenit.'
Quis? 'Dux ille ducum, puer annis, mente senilis.'
Gemma uirum uir, aue, mea spes dum spes michi, salue!
Sero uenis, perii; clamas tamen, 'Anglia surge,
Immo resurge, tuam refero tibi, mortua, uitam.'
Ad uocem rediuiua tuam post fata resurgam.
Ergo reuiuiscens uideo quod inhorreo; cernis
Prelia quanta mouet Stephanus? 'Moueat uolo, quippe
Gloria nulla foret, si prelia nulla moueret.'
Quot contra Stephanum, cui copia multa uirorum,
Duxisti? 'Paucos.' Cur paucos? 'Gloria maior
Est multos paucis, quam multos uincere multis.'
Num rex Francorum, comites proceresque, sed omnes
In te consurgunt? 'Leuis est iactura, repugno
His absens, pugno tibi presens.' Cur simul? 'Edam.
Si non pugna duplex, nec erit michi gloria duplex,
Multo magisque nitet reges quam uincere regem.'
Quis tibi signifer est? 'Ipsius gratia Christi,
Quam michi conciliat mea nec minus actio regis:
Namque placet pax sola michi, discordia regi.
Pacem sero sero, pacem tibi sanguine quero,

43 This itself, of course, is a rhetorical trope. See, for example, Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca NY 2006, 49.
44 Huntingdon, p. cviii.
45 Greenway, 'Authority, Convention and Observation', 114.

> Dulcis alumpna mei, cui tanta pericula sumpsi.
> Te potiar, si pace tamen per me potiare.
> Si secus, emoriar, ne te uideam morientem.'

> Duke Henry, greatest descendant of great Henry, I am falling into ruin – I, noble England, am falling, though not yet in complete ruin. I can scarcely say 'I had been', for 'I am' has departed. If even the hope that remains for the wretched remained for me, I would cry, 'Have mercy, come, help, stop! Rightfully I belong to you, so you have the power – raise me from my fall.' But now my speech freezes, my voice, my life are going. Yet what is this shouting? 'He comes', they say again, 'he has come'. Who? 'He who is the commander of commanders, a boy in years, an elder in mind.' Hail, jewel of manhood, my hope – while I have hope – greeting! You come too late: I have passed away. But you cry, 'England, arise! Or rather, rise again! Dead one, I shall give you back your life.' Revived at the sound of your voice, I shall rise again after death. So coming back to life, I tremble at what I see. Do you perceive the great battles that Stephen is causing? 'I want him to start them, for surely there would be no glory if he stirred up no battles.' How many have you led against Stephen's numerous forces? 'Few.' Why few? 'The glory is greater when the few conquer the many than when the many do so.' Do the French king, counts, nobles – every one of them – rise up together against you? 'The damage is light: absent I fight back against them, while present I fight for you.' Why both at the same time? 'I shall tell you. If the battle is not twofold, neither shall my glory be twofold. It is much more brilliant to conquer kings than to conquer one king.' Who is your standard-bearer? 'The grace of Christ Himself, which my action, and equally the king's, win for me. For peace alone is pleasing to me, and discord to the king. I sow [the seeds of] peace, though belatedly; through the bloodshed I seek peace for you, my sweet foster-daughter, for whom I have taken on such great dangers. May I gain possession of you only if, through me, you gain peace. If not, may I die, rather than see you dying.'[46]

Here, then, the voice of a personified England makes its complaint and plea to the future Henry II. The feminized persona evokes romance conventions of knightly service and rescue, as well as calling up associations with the biblical Bride awaiting her Bridegroom and saviour. Greenway notes the close parallel between this scene and Caesar's vision of Rome by the river Rubicon in Lucan's *Bellum civile*, in which Rome, personified as a distressed woman, laments her current state.[47] Lucan's description of the vision begins thus:

> Clara per obscuram voltu maestissima noctem,
> Turrigeo canos effundens vertice crines,
> Caesariae lacera nudisque adstare lacertis
> Et gemitu permixta loqui: 'Quo tenditis ultra?
> Quo fertis mea signa, viri? si iure venitis,
> Si cives, huc usque licet.'

> Her mighty image was clearly seen in the darkness of night; her face expressed deep sorrow and, from her head, crowned with towers, the white hair streamed abroad; she stood beside him with tresses torn and arms bare, and her speech was broken by sobs: 'Whither do ye march further? and whither do ye bear my standards, ye warriors? If ye come as law-abiding citizens, here must ye stop.'[48]

46 Huntingdon, 760–3 (x.33).
47 Ibid. 761 n. 167. The image of the nation as a distressed woman also resonates with allegorical depictions of Israel in the Old Testament.
48 Lucan, *The Civil War*, ed. and trans. J. D. Duff, London 1928, book I, lines 187–92.

In addition to this classical parallel, Henry's poem draws on a range of biblical and liturgical associations to present Duke Henry in Messianic terms as the coming saviour and king. The formulation *Dux … ducum* ('commander of commanders') resonates with the biblical epithets *rex regum et Dominus dominantium* ('king of kings and lord of lords')[49] and the repeated exclamations of *uenit* recall the medieval advent liturgy.[50] The phrase *Gemma uirum uir, aue* ('Hail, jewel of manhood') suggests the series of 'Hail' formulae which are common in medieval English vernacular dramatic/lyric accounts of the Nativity.[51] Henry also makes use of the familiar *puer-senex* topos to portray the youthful Henry as *puer annis, mente senilis* ('a boy in years, an elder in mind'), also resonating with the advent/Christmas narrative.[52] The repeated allusions here to the performative text of the liturgy, as well as the specific focus on advent imagery, call up parallels with medieval ceremonial and rituals of kingship. In particular, the imagery of this verse suggests the staging of royal triumphs or triumphal entries in the medieval period. The recent work of Gordon Kipling has greatly extended our understanding of triumphal entries in the later medieval period, but evidence for similar ceremonial or ideology extends back into Anglo-Saxon England.[53] There may also be evidence of this kind of ritual in Henry of Huntingdon's own period, in the case of Matilda's triumphant entry into Winchester, as narrated in the *Gesta Stephani*. After admitting Matilda into the city, Henry of Blois 'in publica se ciuitatis et fori audientia dominam et reginam acclamare præcepit' ('bade the people, at a public meeting in the market-place of the town, salute her as their lady and their queen').[54] As well as the specific emphasis on the advent or triumphal entry in Henry's poem, a further Messianic association is suggested by the line 'Ad uocem rediuiua tuam post fata resurgam' ('Revived at the sound of your voice, I shall rise again after death'). I would suggest that this is a use of the Orpheus topos, common in earlier medieval Latin literature, in which the virtue and eloquence of the ruler associate him with the powers of Orpheus – another Christ-like figure.[55]

Henry's poem in the voice of personified England is certainly interesting – but not necessarily pretty. This is perhaps another example of how Henry of Huntingdon's verse has been dismissed because it fails to match up to our expectations that poetry should be ornamental or 'decorative'. Stylistically, this verse is convoluted and fractured. England exclaims that *nunc ora rigent* ('now my speech freezes'), and the short, staccato exclamations and fragments of her complaint convey this perfectly. Lucan tells us that the voice of Rome is *gemitua permixta* ('broken/disturbed with sobs'), yet in fact she speaks eloquently in sustained phrases. Henry's England, by contrast, really does speak in a voice which disintegrates and fragments, with asides and interjections breaking the flow and continuity of the hexameter line. Again, whilst Lucan presents an ordered exchange between Rome and Caesar – Rome asks

49 Revelation 19:16.

50 See, for example, *The Sarum Missal*, ed. J. Wickham Legg, Oxford 1916, 13–24.

51 For example, see the York Play of the Nativity, in *York Plays*, ed. Richard Beadle, London 1982, 126–7, or the Wakefield *Prima pastorum*, in *The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle*, ed. A. C. Cawley, Manchester 1958, 41–2.

52 Huntingdon, 761 n. 167. For a discussion of the *puer-senex* topos, see E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask, New York 1953, 98–101.

53 Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph*, Oxford 1998. For discussion of Anglo-Saxon ideas of the 'royal entry', see Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*, Princeton NJ 1995, 199.

54 *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. K. R. Potter, Oxford 1976, 118–19.

55 Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry*, Oxford 1987, 15.

a series of questions, Caesar responds in a sustained and polished series of apostrophes – Henry's dialogue is far more urgent, fragmentary, and even potentially unclear. Once again, Henry's style conveys the urgency, confusion, and uncertainty or vacillation of the civil war context, and the verse achieves an impressive – though not necessarily attractive or aesthetically pleasing – synthesis of form, rhetoric, and content.

The connections I have suggested between Henry of Huntingdon and Lucan are significant and offer a valuable framework for thinking about the strategic connections of style and content in the *Historia Anglorum*. Henry's extensive use of Lucan there reflects the importance attached to the *Bellum civile* (or *Pharsalia*) in medieval Europe. George Meredith Logan notes that copies of the *Bellum civile* were 'numerous and widely distributed' in twelfth-century England, it being a common text in the schools and a frequent inclusion in *florilegia*.[56] As well as heavily glossed versions of the text, the later Middle Ages saw the development of a complex commentary tradition on Lucan.[57] The evidence suggests that, in the twelfth century, Lucan received as much esteem and attention as even Virgil and the *Æneid*.[58] Logan notes the influence of Lucan on a range of twelfth-century writers in England, including William of Malmesbury and John of Salisbury, as well as Henry of Huntingdon.[59] However, Logan restricts his focus to content rather than style: for example, the use of quotation or allusion to Lucan in portraits of historical protagonists or to offer epic parallels for battles. Interestingly, as Jane Chance observes, Lucan offers something of a parallel with Henry of Huntingdon: his attempt at epic on the theme of civil war was 'criticized by [its classical] contemporaries as faulty' and was deemed to lack the necessary stylistic and structural virtues of 'simplicity, unity and consistency',[60] just as Henry's *Historia* – and particularly the verses – have received disapprobation in terms of their literary success and value.

Whilst Lucan enjoyed higher esteem in the medieval period, criticism of the *Bellum civile* has undergone yet another revolution in recent years. John Henderson's 1987 article 'Lucan/The Word at War' acted as a starting point for a series of radical new reappraisals of Lucan's *Bellum civile*, and, in particular, its style and structure. Henderson argues that Lucan 'breaks rules' and enacts violence on literary convention and decorum, playing with ideas of duality and binarism and employing fragmented literary style and ambivalent or vacillating perspectives and moral judgements to replicate the instability and disintegration of civil war.[61] Of course, Lucan is not unique in his use of these techniques. A. J. Boyle, editor of the volume of *Ramus* which includes Henderson's essay, comments that such features are characteristic of 'Silver Age' Latin poets and their rejection of Augustan classicism, noting the recurrent 'cultivation of generic disorder and experimentation … paradox, discontinuity … the adoption of declamatory structures' and so on in texts

56 Logan, *Lucan in England*, 50, 70.

57 Jane Chance, *Medieval Mythography, II: From the School of Chartres to the Court at Avignon, 1177–1350*, Gainesville FL 2000, 45.

58 David Knowles asserts that 'in England in the twelfth century Lucan and Vergil are put on a level': *The Monastic Order in England,* Cambridge 1949, 526; discussing the medieval period more widely, Eva Matthews Sanford observes that 'Lucan's *Pharsalia* was, next to the *Æneid*, the most popular classical epic in the Middle Ages': 'Quotations from Lucan in Medieval Latin Authors', *American Journal of Philology* 55, 1934, 1–19 at 1.

59 Logan, *Lucan in England*, 52–69.

60 Chance, *Medieval Mythography, II*, 47.

61 John Henderson, 'Lucan/The Word at War', *Ramus: Critical Studies in Greek and Roman Literature* 16, 1987, 122–64, esp. 123, 143, 151.

by these authors.[62] This is obviously an important point to retain for our examination of Henry of Huntingdon: Lucan is working experimentally to link style and content, yet he is still to a large extent fixed within the rhetorical conventions and literary trends of his period. Henderson's reading of Lucan is taken up and expanded in the 1992 monograph *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's Bellum civile* by Jamie Masters. Masters argues that 'the poem itself is a civil war' and argues for the reappraisal of many apparently problematic features of the text in this new light.[63] Masters looks, for example, at Lucan's seemingly shifting allegiances in the poem, which erode any clear sense of 'good' or 'bad' protagonists, as well as features such as the poem's lack of resolution at the end and its inconsistency of narrative voice.[64] Masters crystallizes his interpretation of the *Bellum civile* with the idea of 'the fractured voice' – a deliberately dis-unified and fragmentary literary style, structure, and perspective which resonates with the poem's civil war subject-matter.[65] These readings of Lucan have gone on to influence other scholars, and have forced a re-evaluation of the *Bellum civile* and its subtle association of form with content.[66] This, of course, is very recent modern – not medieval – criticism on the *Bellum civile*. But particular attention was paid, in different ways, to Lucan's literary style in the medieval period, with the *Bellum civile* frequently used as the subject of grammatical study and the earliest uses of Lucan in Anglo-Saxon England occurring in the form of metrical examples and models.[67] As we have seen, in relation to the translation of *Brunanburh* and the epigrams at the end of the *Historia*, Henry of Huntingdon was a particularly sensitive reader, alert to nuances of style and structure, and maintained the importance of relationship between literary form and content. It seems highly possible that Henry himself may have recognized some of these stylistic features of division and fragmentation in the *Bellum civile*. Henry's own stylistic experiments in the *Historia Anglorum*, I would argue, build a strong case for the fundamental stylistic and structural influence of Lucan and the idea of writing civil war.

I have already suggested that the poems in book X of the *Historia* present stylistic experiments which draw on and adjust existing rhetorical conventions to suggest the division, fragmentation, and confusion of civil war. Beyond the verses, another crucial strategy in book X through which Henry links style and content to communicate the civil war context is the use of direct speech. Once again, we have a parallel here with Lucan, whose use of direct speech to present the contrasting perspectives and self-fashioning of each key protagonist has recently received extensive critical attention.[68] Nancy Partner observes that, along with the poems, 'lengthy and fairly conventional speeches' 'proliferate' in book X. She goes on to reflect that:

> These speeches, however, are not entirely without historical interest. Given contemporary conventions of 'high' literature, it is easy enough to accept the idea that Henry and his patron would have considered a bare narrative, however long and detailed, a poor job of history writing. If an historian was capable of composing in hexameter and creating interesting speeches, he brought far more noble gifts to literature than the mere ability to copy down everything he had ever heard. Still, Henry does apologize

62 A. J. Boyle, 'Introduction', *Ramus* 16, 1987, 1–3 at 1–2.

63 Jamie Masters, *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's Bellum civile,* Cambridge 1992, 10.

64 Ibid. 87–90.

65 Ibid. 90.

66 Shadi Bartsch, *Ideology in Cold Blood: A Reading of Lucan's Civil War*, Cambridge MA 1997, for example, develops further the notion of 'an epic that emphasizes the destruction of the material of bodies and the fabric of language' (p. 7).

67 Logan, *Lucan in England*, 44–5, 50.

68 For example, see Masters, *Poetry and Civil War*, 90.

> at one point for not writing more history, and he may have felt the inadequacy of his record.[69]

Once again, Partner's emphasis in relation to the speeches is on rhetorical show and 'decoration'. Clearly, display of a rhetorical 'high style' and inclusion of impressive set-pieces is one important dimension to the inclusion of direct speeches in book X. Yet the speeches are more than merely rhetorical purple patches grafted on to the main historical text. They too serve to suggest the political, ideological, and moral turmoil and instability of Henry's civil war context.

For example, the account of the siege of Lincoln, which follows the verse in book X, chapter 12, discussed above, includes direct speeches from Ranulph, earl of Chester (who aims to attack Stephen's forces and take the city), Robert of Gloucester (who also leads a faction against Stephen), and finally Baldwin fitz Gilbert of Clare, who speaks on behalf of King Stephen himself. In many ways, these are highly conventional literary pre-battle speeches, drawing on all the medieval rhetorical traditions of building morale and exhorting the troops.[70] Strikingly, each of the three speeches contains rousing rhetoric of pride and honour, and a conviction that the speaker is on the side of the just cause. Ranulph of Chester's speech employs emotive strategies to reinforce the sense of an affective bond between those on the battlefield, further suggesting the earl's willingness to sacrifice himself unselfishly for his fellow fighters.

> 'Gratias tibi multas, dux inuictissime, uobisque proceres et commilitones mei cum summa deuotione persoluo, qui usque ad uite periculum amoris effectum michi magnanimiter exhibuistis. Cum igitur sim uobis causa periculi, dignum est ut periculo me prius ingeram, et infidissimi regis, qui datis induciis pacem fregit, aciem prius illidam.'

> 'To you, invincible duke [Robert], and to you, my noble comrades in arms, I render many thanks, from the bottom of my heart, for you have generously demonstrated that you will risk your own lives, out of love for me. So since I am the cause of your peril, it is right that I should put myself into danger first, and should be the first to strike out at the line of this treacherous king, who has broken the peace after a truce had been allowed.'[71]

Here Ranulph epitomizes the twelfth-century chivalric ideal. His language is highly marked by the formulae of knightly courtesy, he constructs himself as a member of an affective community or fellowship, and he defines himself in absolute opposition to the 'treacherous king' (*infidissimi regis*) who has broken the rules of battle. Next, Robert of Gloucester's longer speech builds on the picture of honour and courage established by Ranulph, adding emotive accounts of the particular evils of Stephen's followers and the wrongs they have inflicted on the country. Robert ends with a stirring call to arms which invokes ideals of courage, justice, and glory.

> 'Vos igitur uiri fortissimi, quos magnus rex Henricus erexit, iste deiecit, ille instruxit, iste destruxit, erigite animos et de uirtutibus uestris – immo, de Dei iusticia – confisi, uindictam uobis a Deo oblatam de facinorosis presumite, et gloriam inmarcessibilem uobis et posteris uestris prefigite. Et iam si uobis idem animus est ad hoc Dei iudicium

69 Partner, *Serious Entertainments*, 27.

70 John R. E. Bliese, 'Rhetoric and Morale: A Study of Battle Orations from the Central Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History* 15, 1989, 201–26. Bliese reminds us that 'these speeches are not verbatim reports of orations actually delivered on the field of battle … They are, rather, the rhetorical creations of the chroniclers' (p. 203).

71 Huntingdon, 726–7 (x.14).

> perpetrandum, progressionem uouete, fugam abiurate, erectis in celum unanimiter dextris.'
>
> 'And so, you mighty men, whom the great King Henry raised up and this man has thrown down, whom he favoured and this one has ruined, lift your spirits, relying on your own courage, or rather on God's justice, take up God's offer of vengeance on those vicious men and fix your eyes on unfading glory for yourselves and your descendants. And now, if you share this determination to carry out this judgement of God, vow to advance and swear not to take flight, together raising your right hands to heaven.'[72]

Having given the speeches of the men leading forces against Stephen, Henry of Huntingdon then presents the words of Stephen's own spokesman, Baldwin fitz Gilbert. Baldwin paints a vivid picture of Ranulph's treachery and arrogance, and comments disparagingly on the martial abilities of his Welsh forces. But Baldwin's speech also includes powerful and emotive lines about the justice of Stephen's cause and the honour of his army.

> 'Virtus autem ipsius regis infinita uobis loco perstabit milium. Cum igitur sit in medio uestrum dominus uester, unctus Domini, cui fidem deuouistis, uotum Deo persoluite, tanto donatiuum maius a Deo accepturi, quanto fidelius et constantius pro rege uestro, fidi contra infidos, legitimi contra periuros, pugnaueritis.'
>
> 'The king's own boundless valour will stand fast, equal to thousands of you. Since, therefore, your lord is in your midst, the Lord's anointed, to whom you have pledged your faith, discharge your vow to God, and receive from Him a reward that will be all the greater the more faithful and constant you are to your king – the faithful against the faithless, those who remain true against those who are false.'[73]

Baldwin ends by urging Stephen's men to 'stretch out your courage and your invincible right hands' ('extendite igitur animos uestros et dextras inexpugnabiles').[74] No less than the speeches made by Ranulph and Robert, Baldwin's exhortation to the troops is rousing and affecting. Interestingly, each of the armies mirrors the other, not only in rhetoric but also in the gesture of lifting up the right hand as they approach battle. Greenway notes that this idea of raising the right hand, referred to by both Ranulph and Baldwin, is a possible echo of Caesar's battle speech in the *Bellum civile*, book I. Both orators, then, draw on the same ideals and allusions – not to mention the potentially problematic association with Lucan's deluded and tyrannical Caesar – blurring the differences between their positions and perspectives. I am not suggesting that Henry's position on the contemporary civil conflict was relativist or neutral.[75] However, this collection of battle speeches allows us to overhear the competing voices and causes of mid twelfth-century England, and the bewildering differences of positions and loyalties. Greenway comments on this section of the *Historia* that 'the arguments seem evenly balanced, and leaders on both sides are wittily denigrated and ridiculed. After the battle, nothing is resolved: everything remains uncertain.'[76] Henry bravely represents the moral complexity and

72 Ibid. 730–3 (x.15).

73 Ibid. 734–5 (x.17).

74 Ibid. 736–7 (x.17).

75 We know that the *Historia Anglorum* was produced at the instigation of Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, who was imprisoned by Stephen on the charge of plotting on behalf of Matilda. See the summary in John Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Twelfth-Century Revival of the English Nation', in Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values*, Woodbridge 2000, 123–44 at 131.

76 Greenway, 'Authority, Convention and Observation', 113.

ambivalence of civil conflict here, exploiting the possibilities of direct speech to allow the voices, perspectives, and justifications of each of the different factions at Lincoln to resonate. As readers, we must negotiate our way through these equally compelling and affecting pieces of rhetoric – Henry offers no explicit gloss at this point as to how we should evaluate or interpret the proliferation of different voices. Just as Lucan, in the *Bellum civile*, shows a 'fondness for arguing two sides of a case in the speeches of his characters',[77] so Henry also uses direct speech to present the challenge of evaluating causes and claims in civil conflict. All the rhetoric is seductive but then, as Elaine Scarry observes, the persuasive language of war is a problematic distortion of the relationship between words and reality.[78]

For Henry of Huntingdon, the idea of civil war is emotive and disturbing and demands all his imaginative and rhetorical resources. It is perhaps surprising, so soon after the Norman Conquest, and with the limits of Anglo-Norman rule still so negotiable and contested (for example, in Wales and Scotland and their border regions), that the idea of the sanctity of the whole, united nation should already be so compelling and affective in England. The development of national identity in the medieval period has recently received detailed scholarly attention.[79] Studies which focus in particular on the twelfth century include Laura Ashe's monograph *Fiction and History in England, 1066–1200*, especially the introduction, and, with specific relevance for this discussion, John Gillingham's essay on Henry of Huntingdon. Gillingham asserts that 'In the works of Henry of Huntingdon – as in those of William of Malmesbury – we can trace a developing sense of Englishness',[80] and I would argue that Henry's representation of civil conflict does crucial work in his establishment of an idea of nationhood. Greenway notes that 'One of the strongest themes in the *Historia Anglorum* is that of kingdom, *regnum*',[81] and this is a concept or ideal which, if anything, strengthens and becomes even more dominant during Henry's account of the Anarchy. Interestingly, amongst the proliferation of voices which Henry ventriloquizes in book X of the *Historia* – the different factions at Lincoln, Duke Henry, the weeping personification of England – the voice of the threatened nation is still imagined as unified and monolithic. In the poem in book X, chapter 33 (discussed above), England is still imagined as a single persona speaking with a single and undivided will for peace and unity. The unnatural disturbance and disintegration of civil conflict serve to reinforce the ideal – perhaps the fantasy – of the single, stable nation. In the final poem which concludes book X, celebrating the arrival of the future Henry II in England, the nation is once again imagined as a single persona, the 'foster child' (*alumpno*) revived and comforted by the duke.[82] Once again drawing on advent and Messianic imagery, this poem presents the ideal

77 Masters, *Poetry and Civil War*, 90.

78 See discussion above, p. 31.

79 Relevant studies include *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson, and Alan V. Murray, Leeds 1995; Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, Cambridge 1997; and *Imagining a Medieval English Nation*, ed. Kathy Lavezzo, Minneapolis 2003.

80 Laura Ashe, *Fiction and History in England, 1066–1200*, Cambridge 2007; Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon', 140.

81 Huntingdon, p. lx.

82 Ibid. 776–7 (x.40). Latin *alumpno* might conversely be translated, in other contexts, as 'patron', further suggesting the conflation of female roles in the imaginative idea of the nation: both as adoptive daughter and foster-mother.

interrelationship of *rex* and *regnum*, a consummating union between the ruler and his nation, *spiritus* and *caro* ('spirit' and 'flesh').[83]

In this paper I have argued that Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, and in particular book X, is marked by experimentation with style, voice, and structure, and that Henry attempts to link his subject-matter of civil conflict with formal and rhetorical devices which suggest division, fragmentation, and ambivalence. Many of these techniques have precedents in Lucan's *Bellum civile* – a text used extensively by Henry which has undergone a dynamic critical reappraisal in recent years, allowing scholars to reflect on the complex relationships between the politics of civil conflict and the subtleties of narrative or poetic form. Henry of Huntingdon's ambition and innovation as a poet and rhetorician have recently begun to gain the acknowledgement and attention they deserve, with scholars such as A. G. Rigg and Diana Greenway leading the way. Henry's experimental – and often radical – projects with form, style, and content are not always successful, and certainly do not always conform to our expectations of pleasing poetical or rhetorical 'decoration' or ornament. Rather, the *Historia Anglorum* demonstrates a fundamental commitment to the connection of form and content, and a real integrity in presenting the experience of civil war not just through direct historiographical narrative, but also through carefully selected stylistic techniques and structural strategies. Whilst much work remains to be done on Henry of Huntingdon as poet and author, I hope this paper has contributed to the case for treating him as a serious, challenging, and exciting literary figure.

83 Huntingdon, 776–7 (x.40).

LAND, FAMILY, AND DEPREDATION: THE CASE OF ST BENET OF HOLME'S MANOR OF LITTLE MELTON

Sébastien Danielo

The effect of Norman lordship on English landholding at the local level is a well established theme in the historiography of the Norman Conquest.[1] In recent years historians have tended to argue for elements of continuity across the Conquest, a notable example being David Bates's paper at the Spoleto Conference about the 'feudal revolution'.[2] It is now clearer than ever that the Normans arrived in a country which was already changing. Their role in speeding and directing change should not be underestimated, but, equally, the Normans should not be seen merely as predators, depriving native society as a whole of its privileges and rights. One particular example is Little Melton in Norfolk, supposedly taken by a Norman family from the abbey of St Benet of Holme. The case of Little Melton has been known to generations of scholars and students because it was chosen by Dorothy Whitelock to illustrate the theme of depredation in the second volume of *English Historical Documents* in 1956. By considering some other documents from St Benet's, however, we can see that the story is really rather different.

Little Melton lies ten miles west of Norwich and was a manor of the Norfolk Benedictine abbey of St Benet of Holme from the eleventh century until the sixteenth. Dorothy Whitelock chose five documents concerning Little Melton for the section of *English Historical Documents* about 'land and people'. Three of them are Anglo-Saxon, dated between 1046 and 1066. All three are wills made by members of the same English family. The earliest, the lady Wulfgyth's, does not in fact deal with Little Melton, but helps us to have a clearer view of the family.[3] Wulfgyth evidently had two brothers, Wulfric and Edwin, and several children: three daughters (Ealdgyth, Bote, and Gode) and two sons (Ælfketel and Ketel) are named in the will. Wulfric and Edwin were surely in fact her brothers-in-law, the brothers of her husband Ælfwine. It was his family which had an interest in Little Melton, which is why her will does not mention it: she granted land to several other abbeys, but not St Benet's.

The second will in the series is that of Wulfgyth's brother-in-law Edwin, who gave Little Melton to St Benet's.[4] Wulfgyth's son Ketel confirmed Edwin's donation in the third will,[5] a confirmation presumably required because Ketel had succeeded to his father's interest in the estate. The family's status as median thegns is demonstrated, as Whitelock noted, by the heriot that Ketel left to his lord, Archbishop

1 I would like to thank Mathieu Arnoux, who kindly read an earlier version of this paper, and all the people at the Battle Conference who helped me to improve it, especially Lucy Marten, Stephen Baxter, Judith Green, and Kathleen Thompson.

2 D. Bates, 'England and the "Feudal Revolution" ', in *Il feudalesimo nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 47, 2 vols, 2000, II, 611–49.

3 *EHD II*, no. 187; Whitelock, *AS Wills*, no. 32.

4 *EHD II*, no. 188; Whitelock, *AS Wills*, no. 33.

5 *EHD II*, no. 189; Whitelock, *AS Wills*, no. 34.

Stigand: a helmet, a coat of mail, a horse with harness, a sword, and a spear. They had other connections at the highest levels of society: Wulfgyth seems to have been close to Earls Godwine and Harold, and King Edward himself witnessed her will.

Surprisingly, Edwin's and Ketel's wills were not preserved in the archives of St Benet's abbey but in a cartulary of Bury St Edmunds;[6] the Suffolk abbey had received Ashwellthorpe manor and two ornamented horns as a bequest from Ketel. At the end of Edwin's will it is said that three copies of it had been made,[7] one for Bury St Edmunds (later copied in its cartulary), the second for St Benet of Holme, and the third for Edwin himself. This mention of multiple copies of the will proves that it was drawn up in chirographic form. Among all the wills edited by Whitelock, only nine are known to have been chirographs.[8] One of them, dated after 1020, is also related to St Benet's: the will of Thurketel Heyng, giving lands at Caister to St Benet's and Thorpe (also in Norfolk) to Bury St Edmunds; again, three copies were made: one for St Benet's, one for Bury, and one for the donor.[9]

Edwin's will gave land to a third monastic house: Ely received an estate at Bergh, but it does not seem to have had a copy of the will. Perhaps Ely already held Bergh under some older agreement and Edwin's will was just a formal confirmation. Or perhaps Edwin thought St Benet's and Bury more important than Ely: they were the only two Benedictine houses in East Anglia, in Norfolk and Suffolk respectively, and his own estates were situated chiefly in Norfolk with some in Suffolk. It seems likely that at one time there was also a copy of his will at St Benet's, but almost all the abbey's documents from the eleventh century have disappeared, and they were surely already lost by the thirteenth century when a new cartulary was made, but without a copy of Edwin's will.

After the Anglo-Saxon wills, the next document for Little Melton in the *English Historical Documents* series records a transaction which took place between 1101 and 1114, when Godric, formerly the steward of Ralph Guader (or de Gael), earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, granted the manor to St Benet's abbey for his soul and the soul of his wife Ingreda.[10] The surviving document is a charter of Abbot Richer of St Benet's, who received Little Melton from Godric and granted it to Godric's son Ralph. Whitelock thought that Godric had seized the land from the abbey, citing the evidence of Domesday Book, where Little Melton was said to have been held in the time of King Edward by Edwin from St Benet's but in 1086 directly by Godric.[11] For Whitelock,

> This confirms the evidence of the wills, and the charter [of Godric] … is the agreement made between Godric and the abbey in respect of this land. It is thus of exceptional interest as displaying a continuity of tenure throughout the period of the Norman Conquest, and it shows that in some cases one of the new landowners could succeed one of his Saxon predecessors in a mesne non-military tenure on much the same terms as had prevailed in the time of Edward the Confessor.[12]

Whitelock had no doubt that both Edwin's family and St Benet's abbey had lost the estate by 1086, and that Little Melton had passed into the hands of Godric the

6 Whitelock, *AS Wills*, pp. 99, 199, 201.
7 *EHD II*, no. 188.
8 Whitelock, *AS Wills*, pp. xxiii–xxv.
9 Ibid. no. 25
10 *EHD II*, no. 190; *The Register of the Abbey of St. Benet of Holme, 1020–1210*, ed. J. R. West, 2 vols, Norfolk Record Society 2–3, 1932, I, no. 119.
11 LDB 204b (Norf. 12/32).
12 *EHD II*, no. 190 (head-note).

steward. As such, it has come to represent an exemplary case of depredation by an Englishman against an English family and an English religious house, in a sort of internal Anglo-Saxon struggle for land after the Conquest.

The final document presented by Whitelock dates from a few years later, when Godric's son Ralph had the manor in his hands.[13] It is a confirmation by Abbot Anselm of St Benet's that Ralph should hold the land as was intended in a charter of Abbot Richer (issued at the beginning of the twelfth century). Following the editor of the St Benet's archive, Whitelock concluded that the abbey had lost the manor some time after the middle of the twelfth century, as there are no more charters about it in the cartulary. For all these reasons, the case of St Benet's and Little Melton has been seen as typifying post-Conquest depredation and the loss of land. In fact we can shed new light on the case through a closer look at some other documents not printed by Whitelock.

The entries in Little Domesday Book which concern Melton or Edwin and his family before the Conquest provide important information about Godric the steward, who held Little Melton after the Conquest. There is also a list of benefactors of St Benet's, written in the time of Abbot Ralph II at the end of the twelfth century, which covers both pre-Conquest donors and those who made gifts between 1066 and 1086.[14] It was evidently compiled from older materials which we know about anyway, like Edward the Confessor's confirmation charter of 1046, but must have had other sources, too, as it includes gifts made after 1046. Among the abbey's benefactors it lists Edwin and his wife Ingreda as the donors of Little Melton, confirming the evidence of the wills copied in Bury's cartulary.

Whitelock printed two charters from St Benet's cartulary, but there is a third dating from a few years later. Between 1134 and 1140 the abbot granted the manor to a woman named Basilia.[15] She was the second wife of Ralph son of Godric, who had inherited the estate at his father's death. As Whitelock was concerned to show continuity in land tenure, it is important to look carefully at this document as it will give us important information on the condition of the holding through the generations.

Even more illuminating is the struggle over Little Melton between Abbot William II and Hubert de Montchensy in 1155–6, about which the cartulary has four documents. The case came before the royal court, and one of the documents is a writ of Henry II.[16] The others are a letter of Archbishop Theobald to the bishop of Norwich,[17] Hubert's letter to the same bishop about the agreement which he and the abbot had reached,[18] and the charter of peace (*conuencio*) between Hubert and the abbot.[19] The dispute over Little Melton evidently began when Hubert de Montchensy seized it from St Benet's. Hubert has been regarded as the son of Hubert de Mont-Canisy, a Norman from Bénerville sur Mer (Calvados), and the case has been thought of as exemplifying Norman depredation.

All these documents put together, however, are in fact telling us a story which differs from that told by Whitelock's five documents alone. The key is that Whitelock did not see the family connections between the different actors, so the starting

13 Ibid. no. 191; *Register of St. Benet*, I, no. 135; the original charter survives at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Norfolk Charters, no. 604).
14 *Register of St. Benet*, I, no. 62.
15 Ibid. no. 136.
16 Ibid. no. 45.
17 Ibid. no. 80.
18 Ibid. no. 191.
19 Ibid. no. 192.

point for a re-evaluation must be to look more carefully at them. The consensus has been that three different families held Little Melton during the century or so under consideration here, between *c.* 1050 and *c.* 1150. The first, during King Edward's reign, was the Anglo-Saxon family of Edwin. Secondly, another Englishman held it after the Conquest: Godric, well connected with the new Norman lords, was the steward of Ralph Guader, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk until his forfeiture in 1075. Godric's family held Little Melton until the middle of the twelfth century, when a Norman lord, Hubert de Montchensy, seized it and was pursued in the king's court by the abbot of Holme between 1155 and 1158. The fact is that historians have never tried to study all these people together as part of the same story. Doing so changes our perception of the holders of Little Melton.

Edwin's gift of Little Melton to St Benet's seems an isolated act. His sister (or sister-in-law) Wulfgyth had given nothing to the abbey when she made her will a few years earlier. Her husband, evidently Edwin's brother, was a certain Ælfwine,[20] a thegn like Edwin and their other brother Wulfric, and like Wulfgyth's son Ketel. This Ælfwine was perhaps the same man as the ealdorman Æthelwine (the names were liable to confusion), also a thegn, who gave several estates to St Benet's before 1042 and was indeed the abbey's greatest benefactor.[21] By the time she made her will in 1046, Wulfgyth was a widow, Æthelwine's large donations had presumably already come into effect at his death, and there was no need for her to confirm them. If Wulfgyth's husband and the ealdorman are indeed one and the same, it would be a tradition in the family to give lands to St Benet's even before Edwin's time. It would also be a challenge, for Æthelwine's family, to maintain a connection with the abbey which he had chosen to protect.

When Edwin's nephew Ketel made his own will, at the point of departure on pilgrimage to Rome with his stepdaughter Ælfgifu, he confirmed his uncle Edwin's donation of Little Melton and made other gifts of land to members of his family. He gave Ketteringham to his sister Bote if she should survive him, Walsingham to his sister Gode on the same condition, Onehouse to his stepdaughter Ælfgifu, and Hainford and Coggeshall to his brother Godric.[22] As Whitelock pointed out, Ketel was surnamed 'Alder' (the elder), and he was surely therefore older than his brother Godric.[23] No Godric is mentioned in Wulfgyth's will, and Whitelock saw the possibility that Godric was a son of Æthelwine and another woman. But as Wulfgyth was Æthelwine's last wife (being his widow) and as her son Ketel was Æthelwine's eldest son, it is more probable that Godric was simply too young to inherit anything in his mother's will.

Edwin, his brother Wulfric, and their nephew Ketel were all surely dead by 1086, and their lands had all been transferred to other people.[24] Mostly they were in the hands of Godric the steward. In fact it is quite possible that Godric initially held all

20 Whitelock, *AS Wills*, p. 197.

21 Ealdorman Æthelwine gave Thurne, Ashby, Scottow, Tibenham, Tuttington, Lammas, Hautbois, Beeston St Lawrence, Reedham, Norton, and Woodbastwick, and was undoubtedly the abbey's greatest donor, according to both the confirmation charter of King Edward (*Register of St. Benet*, I, no. 2) and the list given by John of Oxnead (*Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes*, ed. H. Ellis, RS 13, 1859, 291–2).

22 *EHD II*, no. 189.

23 Whitelock, *AS Wills*, p. 201.

24 It is really difficult to be sure which lands were held by the family in 1066, as several Edwins and Ketils occur in Domesday Book. There are 31 entries relating to Edwin, 33 to Ketel or Ketil, and 76 to Wulfric in Little Domesday Book.

the family's lands after 1066,[25] since we know that he lost some after the forfeiture of Ralph Guader in 1075. Most of the property of Edwin's family which passed to someone other than Godric belonged to people who had acquired lands and power only after 1075. Godric is always presented as Edwin's successor in those lands. If that does not of itself mean that there was a family connection between them, neither does it automatically mean that he had seized the land. There is in fact definitive proof of a family link in St Benet's cartulary. Hubert, one of Godric's sons, explained in his letter to the bishop that he wanted to hold Little Melton as his father and his ancestors (*antecessores*) had held before him. Since the only previous holders of Godric's lands on the eve of the Conquest were Edwin and his family, Hubert was clearly their descendant.

This means that there was no depredation of an English family by an Englishman at Little Melton. Of course the estate did not remain among the property of St Benet's abbey, as it was supposed to under the wills of Edwin and Ketel. But even that does not furnish clear proof of depredation, as we will see later. For the moment let us concentrate on the last man connected with Little Melton, in 1155–8, Hubert de Montchensy.

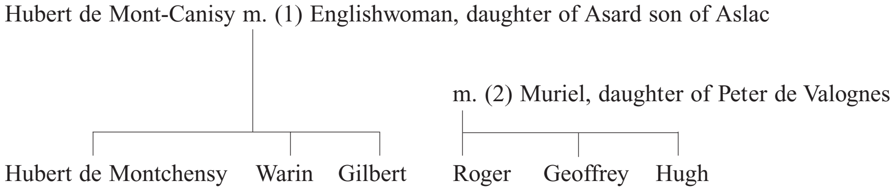
Hubert de Montchensy is not present in the documents chosen by Whitelock, which stop with the confirmation of Little Melton by Abbot Anselm to Ralph son of Godric between 1134 and 1140.[26] But Hubert did hold the land by the middle of the twelfth century. In the documents related to the judicial decision between him and the abbot, he is clearly presented as having seized the abbot's land during the reign of King Stephen.[27] Who was this lord who claimed to have hereditary right to Little Melton?

Katherine Keats-Rohan regarded Hubert de Montchensy as the son of Hubert de Mont-Canisy, a Norman lord who held land in Suffolk from Robert Malet as well as some land in chief (Fig. 1).[28] On that assumption, his acquisition of Little Melton would be a perfect example of Norman depredation against an English lord during the Anarchy. The assumption has been that Hubert de Mont-Canisy's first wife was English, citing a document in the cartulary of St Benet's.[29] But that notice in fact relates to the Hubert de Montchensy who attacked the monks of St Benet's in 1155–8, not to the Hubert de Mont-Canisy of Domesday Book. Moreover the grandfather of Hubert's unnamed wife, who was called Aslac (*Aslak*), was specifically described as 'arriving when William the Conqueror conquered England',[30] and so was not English but Norman.

Moreover, there is no known connection between the family of Hubert de Montchensy (the Hubert who was involved with St Benet's) and the Muriel de Valognes who was Hubert de Mont-Canisy's second wife. In all the documents connected with Hubert de Mont-Canisy from the cartularies of Colne priory in Essex and

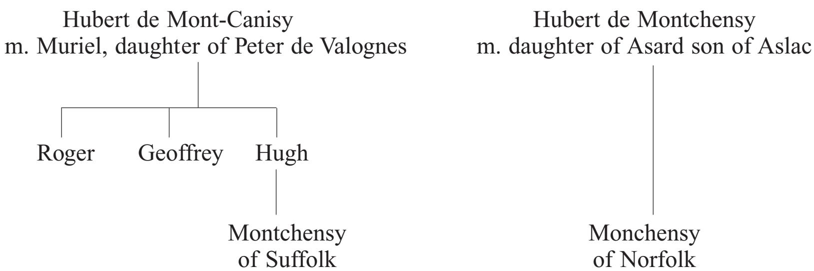
25 Domesday clearly says of Little Melton that Godric held the land before the forfeiture of Ralph in 1075: LDB 204b (Norf. 12/32) ('Hoc tenet Godricus et tenebat quando R. [foris]fecit').
26 *EHD II*, no. 191.
27 *Register of St. Benet*, I, no. 45.
28 K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066–1166*, I: *Domesday Book*, Woodbridge 1999, 256–7.
29 *Complete Peerage*, IX, 411–12; K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, I, 219–221.
30 BL Cotton MS Galba E. ii, fol. 206 (printed in *Complete Peerage*, IX, 412 note b): 'Willelmus Conquestor applicuit in Anglia et quidam in comitiua sua qui vocabatur Aslak. Iste Aslak genuit filium nomine Asard qui tenuit integrum mariscum qui vocabatur nomine domini illius marisci Asardisholm. Iste Asard genuit tres filias heredes quarum una maritata fuit domino de Munchensi et relique due sorores diuerterunt se apud sanctum Benedictum de Hulm'.

Figure 1 The Montchensy family, according to Keats-Rohan



Eye priory in Suffolk there is no Hubert son of Hubert. Hubert de Mont-Canisy's donation of Edwardstone church in 1115 has no witness named Hubert (or indeed Warin or Gilbert), contrary to what is said in *Domesday People*. Only Roger and Geoffrey, the two sons of Mont-Canisy are named (his third son, Hugh, was surely young at that time). So I think that there were two different families with a similar name, earlier than Round's demonstration showing in 1185 two different families of Montchensy, one in Norfolk and one in Suffolk (Fig. 2).

Figure 2 The two Montchensy families

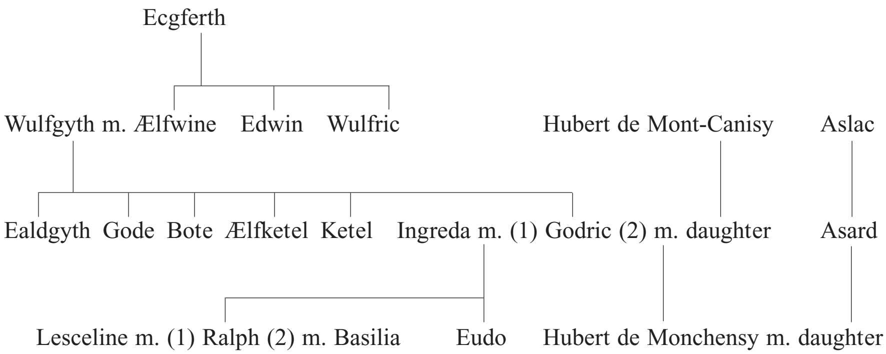


It is really surprising to see someone taking the name of a Norman family without being linked to it. We have seen that Hubert de Montchensy was not the son of Hubert de Mont-Canisy and that he did not marry a daughter of Hubert de Mont-Canisy. When Hubert de Montchensy says in one of the charters of 1155–8 that his father had held Little Melton,[31] he must have meant Godric, since we know both that only Godric and his son Ralph held Little Melton during the first half of the twelfth century and that Ralph died without a son, since his second wife held as his widow. Did Hubert mean that Godric was his father or his father-in-law? We should look carefully at both possibilities.

For Godric to be Hubert's father-in-law, Hubert would have had to have married a daughter of Godric. We do not know of any daughter of Godric, but charters do not provide good evidence for daughters, who almost never appear as witnesses or in other contexts. In any case, if Hubert's wife were the daughter of Godric, Hubert de Montchensy himself would have been the Hubert son of Hugh, and brother of Stephen, who was a grandson of Hubert de Mont-Canisy. But that younger Hubert,

[31] *Register of St. Benet*, I, no. 191. This charter is an *inspeximus* by Bishop William of Norwich of Hubert's charter by which he recognizes, in the presence of Archbishop Theobald and the chancellor, Thomas Becket, that the abbot of St Benet is the rightful owner of the land, 'quam pater meus ceterique antecessores mei de ecclesia prefata tenuerunt'.

Figure 3 The family of Edwin and Godric the steward



who appears in deeds of Colne priory about 1180,[32] may not even have been born in 1160 when Hugh de Montchensy confirmed the donation of his father Hubert de Mont-Canisy.[33] We also know that Hubert, son (or son-in-law) of Godric, was already adult between 1134 and 1140, when he witnessed a charter of his brother (or brother-in-law) Ralph about Little Melton.[34] So it is simply impossible that Hubert son of Hugh was the Hubert who seized land from St Benet's land during King Stephen's reign.

In that case, Hubert de Montchensy must have been the son of Godric, with a link to the Norman family through his mother, surely a daughter of Hubert de Mont-Canisy (Fig. 3). Family links through women were no weaker than those through men, but it is really rare to find an example of a Norman woman marrying an Englishman and passing her Norman surname to their son.[35] This particular Norman woman might have been the second wife of Godric the steward. If so, Hubert de Montchensy would have been young when his father Godric died in 1114, and it is possible that his widowed mother took him with her to his grandfather's house. As Godric's oldest son Ralph had already inherited his father's land, Mont-Canisy possibly gave some land to his half-English grandson, who in return adopted his grandfather's surname. Since Godric's first wife Ingreda was living at the beginning of the twelfth century when her husband restored Little Melton to St Benet's,[36] Hubert de Montchensy must have been born between 1101 and 1114. Those outside dates make a good fit with the fact that he witnessed Abbot Anselm's charter to his half-brother Ralph between 1134 and 1140. At that time Hubert would have been twenty or twenty-five, a good age to confirm that he had a right to St Benet's land.

Godric's choice of names for his sons from both marriages was highly political.

32 *Cartularium prioratus de Colne*, ed. J. L. Fisher, Essex Archaeological Society Occasional Publications 1, 1946, no. 66. This charter of Stephen of Montchensy, dated about 1180, was witnessed by his father Hugh, still alive, and his brother Hubert. It is interesting to see a son confirming a charter of his father issued twenty years earlier, while his father was still alive. It is surely evidence of succession in patrimony while the father was still alive.

33 Ibid. no. 65.

34 *EHD II*, no. 191. In this deed, Hubert is presented as the son of Godric the steward ('Hubertus filius ejusdem Godrici').

35 See, for example, the chapter on 'English Women and Norman Men' in H. M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066–c. 1200*, Oxford 2003, 138–60.

36 *EHD II*, no. 190, dated between 1101 (beginning of the Abbot Richer's rule) and 1114 (death of Godric).

Table 1 Melton in Little Domesday Book

LDB reference	*Holder TRE*	*Holder in 1086*	*Assessment*	*Meadow*	*Other resources in 1086*	*Special information*
204a–b (Norf. 12/30)	Edwin, thegn	Godric the steward	2 carucates	20 acres	2 horses 1 mill 40 sheep	
204b (Norf. 12/32)	Edwin	Godric the steward	2 carucates	3 acres	1 horse 90 sheep	Edwin had granted it to the abbot after his death
204b (Norf. 12/32)	a certain free man who was also a thegn	Godric the steward	1 carucate			a manor TRE
204b (Norf. 12/33)		Godric the steward	110 acres	5½ acres		9 free men in commendation only
254b (Norf. 32/4)	Ketil	Warin, man of Ranulf Peverel	2 carucates	20 acres	2 horses 1 mill 1 church	
254b (Norf. 32/6)		Warin, man of Ranulf Peverel		6 acres	1 free man	
279b (Norf. 66/105)				6½ acres	1 free man	appropriated by Ranulf Peverel

His first son, named Ralph, was surely born before 1075, when Godric was close to the Anglo-Breton Ralph Guader, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk. His choice for his next two sons, Eudo and Hubert, clearly shows Godric changing his political connections and getting closer to the Normans. His second marriage with the daughter of a local Norman lord would be in the same vein. Godric was already using the naming of his sons in the service of assimilation while he was married to his first wife, the Englishwoman Ingreda. His choice of a second wife from a Norman family took assimilation a step further. Finally, Godric's political assimilation was efficient enough to mislead historians, who have always believed that the three holders of Little Melton between *c.* 1050 and *c.* 1150 (Edwin, Godric, and Hubert) were from three different families.

Even so, depredation by Hubert in the middle of the twelfth century is real, and the unsure position of Godric at the very beginning of the same century, before his marriage with Mont-Canisy's daughter, is proven by the restitution of Little Melton to St Benet's. Little Melton is not really exceptional as a type of land tenure. But because it is well documented over a long period, it offers insights into the phenomena of shared tenancies and leasehold tenure for multiple lives.

In studying the manor of Little Melton, the wills of Edwin and Ketel are really important as they explain its tenurial situation, but Little Domesday Book, totally unused by Whitelock, gives more information on the manor itself. In all our documents, both from Anglo-Saxon and Norman times, Little Melton is described as an estate. The word manor is used only in Domesday. Today, as in the twelfth century, Melton is divided in two: Great Melton and Little Melton. Such divisions were common but it is always difficult to date them closely. Several of St Benet's estates were divided at some time between the later eleventh century and the mid twelfth, as Neatishead and Irstead or Potter Heigham and Ludham.[37] It is difficult to know which part of Melton corresponds to which of the entries in Little Domesday, or indeed whether Melton was already divided into Great Melton and Little Melton, so we have to consider Melton as a whole. In 1086 Melton appears in six different Domesday entries (Table 1). Godric was the main holder,[38] but Warin, a man of Ranulf Peverel, also had 2 carucates.[39] Peverel had also seized a man with 6 or 6½ acres of meadow and Warin held that too.[40]

In the time of King Edward Melton was divided between three different thegns. The first was Edwin, and we know that he was the same Edwin who made the will, as Domesday Book says that Edwin had given part of his land to St Benet's after his death.[41] Edwin held two parts of the manor in 1066, perhaps as the oldest surviving member of his family, but he had already divided them, giving 2 carucates to St Benet's and retaining the other 2 carucates, which were therefore available to be inherited by his family.

The second thegn was a man named Ketil, and it is not difficult to identify him as Edwin's nephew Ketel, holding another part of Melton beyond that which his uncle had given to St Benet's. The Domesday description of Ketel's holding resembles Edwin's in a way which raises the possibility that the two holdings were identical.

[37] See, for example, the early boundaries of Horning with Hoveton, Ashmanhaugh, Beeston St Lawrence, Barton Turf, Neatishead, and Irstead in T. Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia, c. 650–1200*, Woodbridge 2004, 142–3.
[38] LDB 204a–b (Norf. 12/30 and 32).
[39] LDB 254b (Norf. 32/4).
[40] LDB 254b, 279b (Norf. 32/6; 66/105).
[41] LDB 204b (Norf. 12/32).

They both included 2 carucates of arable land, 20 acres of meadow, two horses, and a mill, but in fact all the other elements (tenants, sheep, pigs, cattle, ploughs, and values) were different. There was one church, on Ranulf Peverel's holding, and possibly in Great Melton. St Benet's never became patron of a church in Melton, but in 1228 Ralph de Montchensy gave the advowson of Little Melton to Ixworth priory in Suffolk.[42] As Little and Great Melton do not appear to have been clearly divided before 1086, it is difficult to say if there was already a church at Little Melton or whether Montchensy's church in 1228 was the one mentioned on Peverel's holding in Domesday Book.

The third landholder in pre-Conquest Melton, with 1 carucate, was an unnamed thegn; no further information about him is available, but it is possible that it was Wulfric, since when Ketel's will was written, soon before the Conquest, all three members of the family were still alive.

On the eve of the Conquest Melton was thus quite possibly divided between three members of the same family and certainly between two. But despite the division, there was still some connection between the different parts of the estate. In his will Edwin gave land to several religious houses, surely what he held alone. Only the grants to Bury and St Benet's were made in partnership with his brother Wulfric, showing that those lands were a shared tenancy.

If we believe Little Domesday Book, 'Edwin held Little Melton of St Benet in the time of King Edward, such that he had granted it to the abbot after his death'.[43] In other words, the donation was effective during Edwin's life, and the abbot had then granted the estate back to Edwin for his lifetime and that of his brother Wulfric, in a 'paradox of keeping-while-giving' made famous by the anthropologist Annette Weiner.[44] Another example of the phenomenon is Ketel's mother Wulfgyth's gift of the manor of Stisted to Christ Church, Canterbury in 1046, with the proviso that it should remain in the hands of her sons Ælfketel and Ketel until their deaths. When Ketel wrote his will almost twenty years later, he gave Stisted to Christ Church as if he were the first donor of the land. So even if Melton was given to the abbot of St Benet's during Edwin's lifetime, the monks could not do anything with it until the deaths of both Edwin and Wulfric.

If it is clear that the two brothers were in partnership at Little Melton, there is more doubt about their nephew Ketel. The first part of the agreement specified that after the deaths of both Edwin and Wulfric, Ketel should hold Ashwellthorpe but Melton should go directly to St Benet's abbey. Ketel was to pay £2 to Bury for Ashwellthorpe, but nothing is said about any payment for Melton. At the end of the will, however, it was said that on Ketel's death Melton should go to 'the church of Thurwald'. This 'Thurwald' may in fact be the abbot of St Benet's between 1046 and 1064, Thurstan of Ludham. There is a further difficulty here, as in his own will Ketel was in partnership with Edwin and Wulfric at Melton. Perhaps the copy of Edwin's will in the Bury cartulary was not exactly the same as the original, and the monk who copied it omitted some elements about a manor which was not given to his own abbey. But I am not really convinced of that, as the will is so detailed. I conclude that Ketel had joined his two uncles in partnership at a date after Edwin's will.

Ketel's own will spoke about a partnership with his uncles, explaining that it was Edwin who had a partnership with himself and Wulfric. Any manorial status would

42 *A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk*, ed. W. Rye, 2 vols, Norwich 1885–6, 56.
43 LDB 204b (Norf. 12/32).
44 A. B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-while-Giving*, Berkeley CA 1992.

surely therefore have been associated with Edwin, Ketel and Wulfric holding only subsidiary parts of the estate. In 1066 there were four horses at Melton, two each belonging to Edwin and Ketel (Table 1). They are evidence for a hall. It is possible that there was only one hall, shared by Edwin, his brother, and their nephew. The manor itself had evidently been divided by 1066, since the land that Edwin gave to St Benet's and the land of the unnamed thegn are both described as manors, and Godric held those 'two manors' in 1075 and earlier. Ketel's land was also described in 1086 as a manor.

As all those lands formed one estate, Edwin would not have been able to give his part away without the agreement of the other two men. Finally, St Benet's accepted a sort of 'three-life' donation similar to the classic three-life leases granted to thegns by other abbeys or cathedral churches, as Christopher Dyer has shown.[45] It is also possible that the conditions stated in Edwin's will were in fact the result of an agreement between Edwin and the abbot, setting out the tenurial conditions after Edwin's donation. That would mean that Edwin had been in contact with the abbots to whom he wanted to grant land, in order to prepare the conditions of his will.

Melton provides an illustration of what John Blair has called the new landscape of late Anglo-Saxon England,[46] when large estates were being broken into small ones. Here the estate was divided into three different parts, all initially held by members of the same family and managed in common. That is the reason why Edwin gave his land to St Benet's abbey in partnership with his brother Wulfric and his nephew Ketel. So as not to disturb the management of the estate, both his kinsmen were permitted to keep their holdings after Edwin died. At first only Wulfric was in partnership; later Ketel (perhaps when he was older) seems to have changed the partnership to his own advantage. In the twelfth century the land at Melton was never called a manor, but several other properties in the hands of St Benet's were also not termed *manerium* in its cartulary.[47] It is difficult to see if all the family's lands were kept together after Godric's time, as the abbey's documents refer only to the part of Little Melton that Edwin gave to the monks.

Godric the steward's depredation after the Conquest is an important element in Whitelock's analysis of tenurial change. She thought that after 1066 Little Melton was seized by another Anglo-Saxon, Godric, steward of the new lord of East Anglia, Ralph Guader. Historians have agreed that Guader was at least half English and that he was already in England in the time of King Edward,[48] but he and his father Ralph the staller nonetheless played an important role in the Norman Conquest. As a result, Godric has seemed to be one of those 'new men' of English origin who took advantage of the coming of the Normans. As we have seen, Godric was in fact the brother of Ketel and the nephew of Edwin, the pre-Conquest English holder of Little Melton. In Little Domesday Book the part of Little Melton given by Edwin to St Benet's and then held by him from the monks fell after the Conquest into Godric's hands as tenant-in-chief. Whitelock therefore thought that Godric had seized the land after the Conquest and that the abbot of St Benet's did not get it back until Godric's own donation in the first years of the twelfth century.

The fact that Little Melton does not appear with the abbey's lands in Domesday Book but among Godric's does not mean that the abbey had no control over it.

45 C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain, 850–1520*, London 2002, 79.

46 J. Blair, 'The Making of the English Parish', *Medieval History* 2:2, 1992, 13–19 at 15.

47 During the whole of the twelfth century the word manor occurs only thirteen times: *Register of St. Benet*, II, 206.

48 C. P. Lewis, 'The French in England before the Norman Conquest', *ANS* 17, 1994, 123–44.

Several other estates in Norfolk were still owned by the abbey but described among its tenants' fiefs. The same may have been true of Melton. The 'donation' by Godric to Abbot Richer between 1101 and 1114 must not be seen as a real donation.[49] Many documents in St Benet's cartulary used the vocabulary of donation when in fact they described the retrocession of land granted by the abbey a few years previously. Another example is the donation of Stisted by Godric's brother Ketel to Christ Church, Canterbury. In fact, their mother Wulfgyth had already given the land in her will, with the condition that Ketel should hold it until he died. The verb 'to give' and the invocation of the salvation of the donor's soul appear regularly in such cases, as the abbey had increasing difficulty attracting benefactors during the twelfth century. Such 'donations' were a way for lay people to obtain the monks' help for the salvation of their souls without granting new lands that were less and less easy to find.

Those considerations surely add another element to the demonstration that Godric was Edwin's heir; as was said in Edwin's will, at Ketel's or his brother's death the land was to be given back to the abbey. But Godric was not dead when he gave the land back. With his wife, he chose to give the land before his death, in a clear parallel with the wills of his brother Ketel and his uncle Edwin. Even if we did not have this document, we can understand that his most important purpose was to ensure that Little Melton passed to his eldest son Ralph. Under Edwin's will, the monks were not compelled to allow Edwin's family to continue holding Little Melton after the death of the third holder, Godric. By making a grant in his own lifetime, Godric was evidently able to negotiate the transfer of the land to his son. There is surely here evidence of the continuing struggle for land: on the one hand lay families sought to patrimonialize their estates, while on the other religious houses wanted to improve their incomes and keep control of their estates.

This conflict of interest continued into the twelfth century, as later deeds relating to Little Melton and Godric's family illustrate. Even after Godric's time, Melton was a place of conflict for the abbey, not always involving violence, but demonstrating the struggle for land and rent.

Two events concerning Little Melton and described in St Benet's cartulary were totally omitted by Whitelock. Both illustrate vividly the struggle for land. The first took place between 1134 and 1140 but was connected with conditions of land tenure established thirty years earlier. In the charter of Abbot Richer dated between 1101 and 1114, Godric restored the land to the abbey and at the same time the abbot granted it to Godric's son Ralph.[50] Certain points about the terms agreed between the family and the abbot are probably to be explained by Ralph's lack of children with his wife Lesceline. As earlier for Edwin and Ketel, we have a three-life contract for Little Melton, the three lives being those of Ralph, Lesceline, and a future son, not yet born at the time of the agreement. This is the first time that a rent was mentioned for Little Melton, and the monks took care to increase it when the land should pass to another generation. This was not a small increase as the rent of 10 shillings was to be raised to 40 shillings. Although there was continuity in land tenure, the monks increased the rent each time the contract was renewed. A few years later Abbot Anselm confirmed the arrangements. This latter charter is printed in *English Historical Documents*, but it does not give any information about Ralph

49 *EHD II*, no. 190; *Register of St. Benet*, I, no. 119.
50 *EHD II*, no. 190; *Register of St. Benet*, I, no. 119.

except that his wife Lesceline, who was not mentioned, seems to have died in the intervening period.[51]

However, in another later charter of the same abbot not printed by Whitelock, the land was granted instead to Ralph's second wife Basilia. The rent was again increased, to one mark of silver (13*s.* 4*d.*) from the 10*s.* that Ralph's first wife Lesceline was supposed to pay. That was less than the 40*s.* that any son of Ralph would have paid. This is the third time since Edwin that someone acquired an interest in the estate who in theory should not have held it, but this time the monks changed the tenurial conditions. Several elements explain this: the link between the family of Edwin and Godric and their former lords, the two Earl Ralphs of East Anglia, with St Benet's abbey; the difficulty in finding new benefactors; the necessity of keeping in with those who had already given; and the liberal policies of the abbots in the earlier twelfth century in granting tenancies of abbey land to members of their own and other local families. Basilia, as a widow, was in a better position to negotiate with the monks.

That was not the case fifteen years later. This is our second struggle for the land and surely the most interesting. In 1155–6 Abbot William of St Benet's came to the royal court in the presence of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury against a local lord, Hubert de Montchensy, about Little Melton manor. This was not the only case in which Abbot William used the royal court, and in particular the justice of Archbishop Theobald, to regain lands seized during King Stephen's reign. He complained, for example, about the depredation by Amfrid Butteturte of the advowson of four churches in Caister.[52] We also have thirty writs from Henry II, most of them dating from 1155–65, related to lands which the abbot should have restored to him.

Four documents are preserved in the St Benet's cartulary about the conflict with Montchensy over Little Melton: a writ of Henry II; a letter of Archbishop Theobald to William, bishop of Norwich; a charter of Bishop William; and an agreement between Abbot William of St Benet's and Hubert de Montchensy. It seems that during Stephen's reign Hubert de Montchensy refused to recognize that Little Melton belonged to St Benet's. Henry II's writ says that Hubert took it 'in time of war' (*in guerra*).[53] Hubert had surely taken advantage of the difficulties of Stephen's reign to seize the land. It seems to be a clear case of depredation by a Norman lord … but in fact we know that Hubert was from the family that had long held the estate as the abbey's tenants.

So why did he seize the land? First we should notice that in Archbishop Theobald's letter Hubert was said to have acted on the advice of bad counsellors. That may have been a way of obtaining peace between Hubert and the abbot by shifting the blame for depredation on to other people. But it also casts light on the dispute. Hubert was not supposed to have Little Melton, as both the charter of Abbot Richer and the confirmation by Abbot Anselm make clear. Only Hubert's brother Ralph and Ralph's first wife Lesceline should have had the land, followed by any son of Ralph's who might be born in the future. Otherwise Little Melton should return to the abbot of St Benet's. When Ralph died between 1134 and 1140, however, his second wife Basilia, although she had no child with him, secured a charter from

51 *EHD II*, no. 191; *Register of St. Benet*, I, no. 135.

52 *Register of St. Benet*, I, p. 175. In this document, the archbishop tells the bishop of Norwich to order an inquest into who should hold those churches. A writ of Henry II to Bishop William of Norwich between 1155 and 1158 is also related to this (ibid. no. 48).

53 *Register of St. Benet*, I, no. 45; the letter of Archbishop Theobald to the bishop of Norwich uses the form *tempore guerre* (ibid. no. 80).

Abbot Anselm to have the land herself. It is possible that Hubert tried to obtain the land when Basilia died. We should notice that Hubert said in his own charter that he wanted to hold Melton 'as my father and my ancestors held from the abbey'.[54] His action was a way of asserting his hereditary right to the land, but also a way of discussing the value of the rent. The rent had already been increased between Ralph's tenancy and that of his wife Basilia, and it was supposed to rise again for Ralph's heirs. If Hubert wanted to have Little Melton as his brother's heir then the monks of Holme would surely have tried to impose the rent of 40*s*. that Ralph's heir was supposed to pay. If, in this case, there was undoubtedly depredation, it should nevertheless be seen also as a way of opening discussions about the rent with the abbot and the monks of St Benet's. And it worked. When Hubert recognized Abbot William as his lord for Little Melton, he also obtained from Archbishop Theobald the concession that the rent should stand at 10*s*., as his brother Ralph had paid. The abbot had no other choice but to recognize this agreement if he wanted his land back. Indeed from this time onwards the Montchensy family held the estate for the same rent of 10*s*. Until the middle of the sixteenth century the monks had just 10*s*. rent each year from Little Melton, which by the time of the Dissolution was very little for 240 acres of arable land. The 20 marks of silver which Hubert paid to have the agreement in the middle of the twelfth century was small consolation for the abbey.

In the final analysis Little Melton is not a good choice to illustrate depredation of land after the Norman Conquest, but the documents considered here are of great value in showing continuity in land tenure across the Conquest by the same English family. Neither the Conquest of 1066 nor the rebellion of 1075 disrupted the family's tenure of Melton. A hundred years later Edwin's great-nephew Hubert de Montchensy still held the manor. His depredation during King Stephen's reign was no Norman attack on Anglo-Saxon land but rather a way of discussing tenurial conditions, based on family and inheritance rights. The case of Melton also serves to contradict a famous text in the cartulary of St Benet's which presents the abbots of the earlier twelfth century as bad rulers who had given much monastic land to their own family and friends and failed to manage the abbey's estates effectively.[55] About Little Melton we must say instead that the abbots were good managers, given that Melton lay too far distant from the abbey to be really useful, and that they succeeded, at least initially, in increasing the rent regularly whenever the land passed to another member of the family. Finally, it was Abbot William II (the abbot who accused his predecessors of bad management) who was responsible for nullifying all their good work, though he, too, did try to increase the rent.

Little Melton illustrates a double struggle over land: the family's struggle to retain its tenancy under the abbey, and the abbey's struggle to increase its rent from the family. The monks finally lost out and had to accept a lesser rent to be sure of retaining the manor in their patrimony. The manor did not disappear from St Benet's archives after 1155, as has been claimed. We have no more charters about it, but the monks still received rent each year, as the inquests of 1256,[56] 1291,[57] and the

54 Ibid. no. 191: 'parua Mealtone quam pater meus ceterique antecessores mei de ecclesia prefata tenuerunt.'

55 Ibid. pp. 170–1. Abbot Richer and Anselm are particularly concerned in this document, first studied by Stenton in 1922: F. M. Stenton, 'St Benet of Holme and the Norman Conquest', *EHR* 37, 1922, 225–35.

56 BL Cotton MS Galba E. ii, fols 125–6.

57 BL Cotton MS Tiberius C. x, fol. 183r.

Valor Ecclesiasticus show. Archbishop Theobald's ruling fixed the sum at 10 shillings down to the earlier sixteenth century. The conflict over the level of rent and the monks' eventual failure in the middle of the twelfth century are part of a story which began before 1066 and was not connected with the Conquest.

It is also important to see why historians have been wrong about Melton. Hubert de Montchensy proves that possession of a Norman name does not definitively prove a Continental origin, and suggests that many other Anglo-Saxon families changed both their first names and their surnames in order to integrate with the conquerors. It undoubtedly illustrates the social pressure to integrate with the new rulers. Hubert was connected with the Norman Hubert de Mont-Canisy through his mother, but his rights to inherit land originated with his English father. And if Hubert had the same name as his Norman maternal grandfather, it is evident that even his name was Godric's deliberate choice in a political line which opened with his first son Ralph.

BROTHERS AT COURT: URSE DE ABETOT AND ROBERT DISPENSER

Emma Mason

The vilification of Urse de Abetot by the leading monastic writers of the Anglo-Norman period needs no introduction, but while this evaluation of his career and that of his brother Robert enlarges on their misdeeds in some areas, it also introduces some extenuating circumstances in others.[1]

The Tancarville connection

Ralph de Tancarville, the first in a line of hereditary chamberlains of Normandy, already held this office during the reign of Duke Robert I, and continued to serve down to his death in 1079. Following the Norman Conquest, control over both the royal and ducal revenues was centralized in the *camera*, under the continuing supervision of the master-chamberlains of the house of Tancarville. Ralph did not operate in person in England, where the duties of his office were presumably discharged by deputy.[2]

It was suggested by G. H. White that Ralph de Tancarville had a brother, Amaury de Abetot, and that Urse de Abetot was this man's elder son.[3] Urse attested Ralph's charter granting benefactions to the collegiate church of Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville, which he is said to have founded *c.* 1050. His grants were confirmed by Duke William, before his invasion of England.[4] If Ralph's charter dated from the time of his foundation of the collegiate church, then Urse would have been born *c.* 1030, but since it was issued at the dedication, when much of the building would have been completed, a date of birth in the 1040s might be indicated. Even this later date would give him a long career, since he was active down to the year of his death, 1108.[5]

Several of the men who attested Ralph's charter made the associated grants which were expected of tenants on such occasions, but Urse did not. His own land-

1 My thanks are due to all those who provided feedback on this paper before and during the Battle conference, including Judith Green, Sally Harvey, Ann Williams, David Bates, Howard B. Clarke, Hugh Doherty, Chris Lewis, and David Roffe. Most of all, I am indebted to the late R. R. Darlington, who first introduced me to Urse and Robert.

2 David Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, London 1982, 118, 154–5; David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England*, London 1964, 291–2, 300.

3 G. H. White, 'Constables under the Norman kings', *The Genealogist*, new series 38, 1922, 113–27 at 119.

4 *RADN*, no. 197. On the attestations see Lewis C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, ed. Charles Travis Clay and David C. Douglas, Harleian Society 103, 1951, 1 note 6.

5 'Winchcombe Annals 1049–1181', ed. R. R. Darlington, in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. Patricia M. Barnes and C. F. Slade, Pipe Roll Society, new series 36, 1962 for 1960, 111–37 at 122.

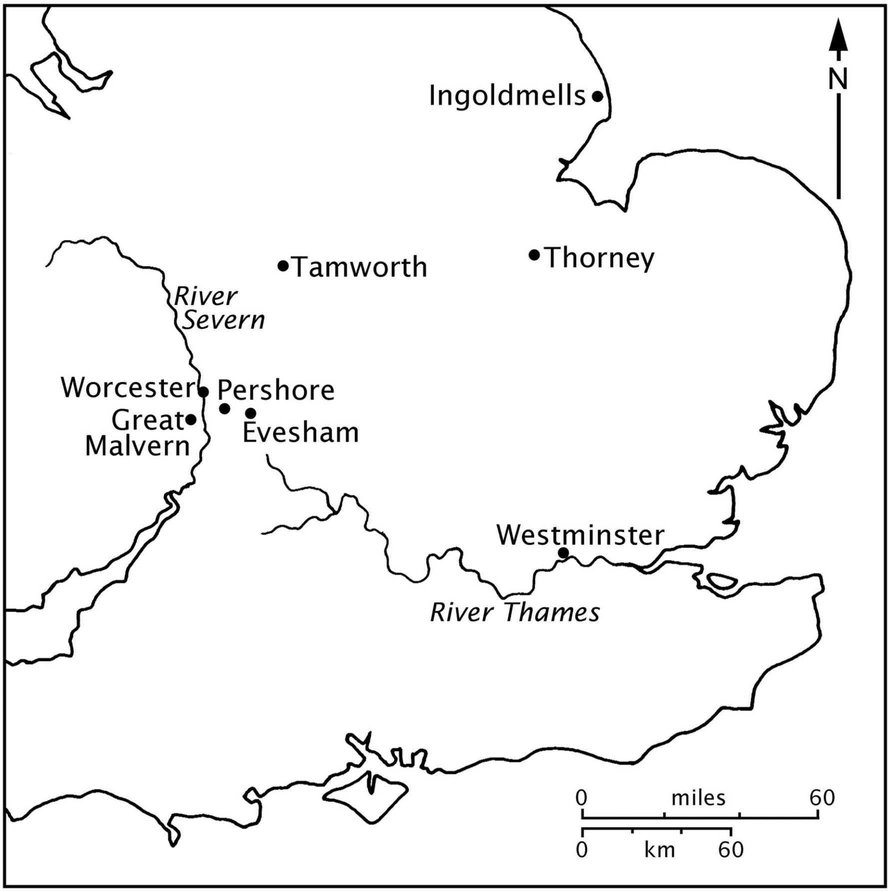


Figure 1 The England of Urse and Robert

holdings were perhaps too limited to enable him to afford a grant, but he may have had strong views about some of those made by Ralph, including the church of Saint-Jean-de-Abbetot, with the tithe and 3 acres of land, and the tithe of all the assarts.[6] As Ralph's tenant in the vill, Urse perhaps claimed these tithes for his own use.

Nevertheless, Ralph de Tancarville probably launched Urse and his brother Robert on their rise to wealth and status in England. Urse de Abetot first attested in England, as a *minister*, *c.* 1068.[7] At this period, and perhaps even previously in Normandy, he may have been a deputy of the master-chamberlain. Such activity early in his career would account for his later prominence among the assessors of royal revenues.

Robert, the brother of Urse, is not known from pre-Conquest Norman sources. When he did begin to attest, he was never surnamed de Abetot, and was presumably the younger sibling.

[6] *RADN*, no. 197.
[7] *Regesta: William I*, no. 345, version I.

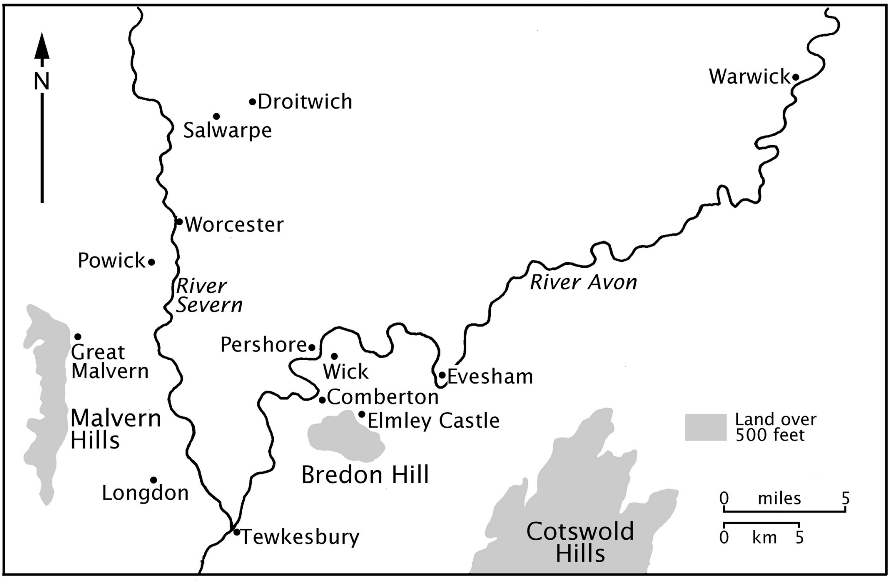


Figure 2 The Severn and Avon valleys

Lands in England

Urse accumulated most of his landholdings in Worcestershire, and also held some estates in the surrounding counties. He was a minor tenant-in-chief, but held extensive estates from the churches of Westminster and Worcester and other religious communities. Since none of the secular magnates who held lands in Worcestershire had many estates concentrated there, Urse became a dominant figure in the county.

Robert Dispenser held the castle and honor of Tamworth, excluded from Domesday Book probably because Tamworth itself lay on the border between Warwickshire and Staffordshire, the division between two circuits of the Survey. He also held estates in several other counties, ranging from Gloucestershire to Lincolnshire. More of his lands were held in chief than were those of Urse.[8]

Tenurial consolidation

The landholdings of Urse and Robert as recorded in 1086 were steadily accumulated over the years, combining royal grants, tenancy agreements with ecclesiastical and lay magnates, the support of Odo of Bayeux, and aggressive self-help. Their acquisition of lands would increase after the death of Earl Edwin and the collapse of the earldom of Mercia. Previously, opportunities of acquiring forfeited land in Mercia were limited. Comparatively few men from that region fought at the battle of Hastings, owing to the difficulty of regrouping following the heavy involvement, and losses, of Mercians in the battle of Fulford Gate.[9] However, Mercian involvement in the revolt against Norman rule in the late 1060s and the consequent forfeitures were followed by the large-scale migration of displaced Englishmen to join the

8 *The Beauchamp Cartulary: Charters 1100–1268*, ed. Emma Mason, Pipe Roll Society, new series 43, 1980 for 1971–3, pp. xviii–xx.

9 I am grateful to Ann Williams for advice on this point.

forces of the Byzantine emperor. One account of the migration names its leaders as the *comites* or *consules* of Gloucester, Lichfield, and Warwick, titles which reflect the regional origins of the migrants, and the context in which Robert Dispenser acquired his honor of Tamworth.[10] Ann Williams has suggested that this was based on the lands held by Wulfric Spot in the reign of Æthelred. Initially, Robert probably contended with surviving pockets of rebels, since the hostility of the inhabitants is said to have contributed to scaring off Archbishop Thomas of York from his attempt to hold a visitation of the bishopric of Lichfield.[11]

Urse and Robert would consolidate their hold over their territories largely through their tenants, including Englishmen who commended themselves to the incomers in expectation of protection, but soon found that this personal relationship became a tenurial one. In 1086, two of Urse's named tenants, Aiulf and Hunwulf, were most likely Englishmen.[12] Around the end of the century Elfred, who was probably an Englishman, was Urse's chaplain and perhaps assisted in the administration of his estates.[13]

The shrievalty of Worcester

Urse probably replaced the English sheriff Cyneweard following the rising of 1068. William of Malmesbury related how Urse, as the newly appointed sheriff, built a castle close to the entrance gate of the cathedral priory at Worcester. When the moat was excavated, part of the monastic cemetery collapsed. The monks complained to Ealdred, archbishop of York, who still exercised control over his former see. Ealdred famously exclaimed, 'Your name is Urse. Receive God's curse.'[14] To a prelate of the old school, the solemn curse was the proper response to encroachment on ecclesiastical property when there was unlikely to be support from the secular power.[15] A grant by William I to Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester, perhaps dating from 1067 but more likely 1068, was witnessed both by Ealdred and by others who all had interests in south-west Mercia. Urse attested as *minister*, indicating that he was already sheriff.[16] Ealdred died on 11 September 1069.[17]

Tenure of the shrievalty helped Urse to acquire lands in Worcestershire. It has been argued that, holding this office in a near-frontier region, he needed a substantial landed base for military reasons. From Bishop Wulfstan's point of view there were advantages as well as disadvantages in having so powerful an undertenant.[18] They needed to maintain a working relationship in order to ensure the defence of the shire, and jointly administered justice in the shire court. Urse was one of the king's

10 Krijnie N. Ciggaar, 'L'Émigration anglaise à Byzance après 1066: un nouveau texte en latin sur les Varangues à Constantinople', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32, 1974, 301–42 at 320–5.

11 Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 143 (pp. 432–3). See also *Vita Wulfstani: Life of Wulfstan*, in William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, Oxford 2002, 1–155 at 64–5.

12 GDB 175a1, 177b1 (Worcs. 8/24; 26/6).

13 *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory (Register I)*, ed. R. R. Darlington, Pipe Roll Society, new series 38, 1968 for 1962–3, no. 338.

14 Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 116 (pp. 384–5).

15 Lester K. Little, 'La Morphologie des malédictions monastiques', *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 34, 1979, 43–60.

16 *Regesta: William I*, no. 345, version I.

17 John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066–1300*, VI*: York*, comp. Diana E. Greenway, London 1999, 1.

18 Judith Green, 'The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror', *ANS* 5, 1983 for 1982, 129–45 at 144.

'barons' who upheld the bishop's case in a suit against Abbot Walter of Evesham.[19] In 1089, he attested 'with all the knights of his shire', when Wulfstan granted land to his monks.[20] These episodes indicate that a degree of co-operation between them slowly evolved, and perhaps also a wry recognition of each other's skills in land management, even though their techniques differed widely. The bishop would know the advantages of having contacts at the royal court. The withholding of the service due from their tenancies by Urse and Robert might be tacitly accepted as the price for their assistance in other areas, particularly in view of Urse's involvement in the assessment of taxation of the religious houses.

The Norman sheriffs, like their English predecessors, enjoyed royal grants of land to hold at farm during their term of office, but in contrast to their predecessors often succeeded in turning these revocable grants into hereditary possessions.[21] Like several contemporary sheriffs, Urse perhaps owed his appointment to the fact that he was already a *curialis*.[22] On taking up office, he would learn that although there was some correspondence with the duties of a Norman *vicomte*, those of an English sheriff were more onerous, as Mark Hagger has demonstrated.[23] The responsibilities of late eleventh-century sheriffs were greater than those of their predecessors before 1066, due both to the need to deal with the widespread unrest of the early years of the Conqueror's reign and also to the rapid disappearance of the great earldoms. The success of Norman rule in England largely rested on their calibre. Naturally they were aggressive to the extent of appearing larger than life.

Exploitation of the shrieval office in order to build up landholdings was endemic, but attracted notoriety chiefly when, like Urse in Worcestershire, Eustace in Huntingdonshire, or Picot in Cambridgeshire, they encroached on the lands of major religious communities whose inmates were adept in documenting their losses and vilifying the culprits.[24] Sheriffs, when transacting business in the shire and hundred courts, quickly developed skills in litigation and adjudication. Criticism of their abuse of office might be deflected by ensuring that the jury of the shire court included some of the sheriff's own men.[25] Englishmen, as Richard Abels has suggested, could prove useful with their knowledge of tenurial conditions TRE, especially in identifying men who had been commended to an *antecessor* of the aggressor, and could now be treated as targets for absorption as fully-fledged tenants.[26] While the Englishmen in Urse's entourage are identified only from 1086 onwards, these men, or older compatriots, perhaps assisted him to build up his landholdings in the decades after the Conquest, contributing indirectly to his formidable reputation. By means of such information he could more easily seize land, although shire juries at times challenged wrongful claims.[27]

Like other Norman sheriffs, Urse was enabled to accumulate lands more easily than his English predecessor in office. Sheriffs TRE were restricted in their opportu-

[19] *Regesta: William I*, no. 350.
[20] *Ctl. Worcester*, no. 3.
[21] Richard Abels, 'Sheriffs, Lord-Seeking and the Norman Settlement of the South-East Midlands', *ANS* 19, 1997 for 1996, 19–50 at 40.
[22] Green, 'Sheriffs', 135.
[23] Mark Hagger, 'The Norman *Vicomte*, *c*. 1035–1135: What Did He Do?', *ANS* 29, 2007 for 2006, 65–83 at 82–3.
[24] Green, 'Sheriffs', 129, 143–4.
[25] Robin Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law: Society and Legal Custom in Early Medieval England*, Cambridge 1998, 48–9.
[26] Abels, 'Sheriffs', 32.
[27] Robin Fleming, 'Oral Testimony and the Domesday Inquest', *ANS* 17, 1995 for 1994, 101–22 at 111.

nities for land-grabbing largely due to the presence of a powerful earl in the vicinity monitoring shrieval activity, and a complex network of patronage which enabled even minor landholders whose interests were threatened to call on powerful allies. In the wake of the Conquest, these restrictions collapsed, paving the way for the new wave of predatory sheriffs.[28]

Abuse of shrieval powers

A well-known directive of William the Conqueror, perhaps issued in 1077, authorized a commission of magnates of church and state to summon the sheriffs and order them to return to ecclesiastical landholders all the demesne land which they had been granted by bishops and abbots, through carelessness, fear, or greed, or which they had seized by violence.[29] Probably many clerics experienced fear and threats of violence from sheriffs in the wake of the Conquest and the subsequent unrest. The charge of 'carelessness' may indicate the inability of the clerics to produce documentation when title to lands was challenged in lawsuits, while their 'greed' may indicate that some prelates connived with sheriffs to hand over demesne, most likely that assigned to the *mensa* of their monks, in return for cash or other benefits.

Sheriffs had further opportunities for enrichment. One of these, exploited by Urse, was to retain for personal use lands which had been seized from an outlawed man.[30] Patronage also helped. After Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham's death, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, is well known to have conveyed some of the abbot's estates to Urse.[31]

Exploitation of his shrieval powers also enabled Urse to maximize the profits from the hundred courts which he controlled. A writ of Henry I dating from 1108 ordered Samson, bishop of Worcester, and Urse, the sheriff, that the shire and hundred courts must meet at the same places, and at the same times, as in King Edward's day, and not otherwise.[32] It has been suggested that Urse and other sheriffs were summoning these courts to meet more frequently than at the customary intervals.[33] They would hope to produce a rising volume of amercements, perhaps creaming off some of the proceeds, while the relocation of the courts to a neighbourhood tenanted by the sheriff's men could more easily produce verdicts on tenurial matters which suited his interests. Bishop Samson and Urse were conniving to profit by such means. Since their gains were other men's losses, the king's writ would be issued in response to complaints from other major landholders in the shire.

Hemming, sub-prior of Worcester, included in the cartulary which bears his name, repeated entries about the misdeeds of Urse, which were condoned 'for fear of his power'. Robert Dispenser was depicted as equally deplorable, seizing an estate for which Bishop Wulfstan had obtained, at great expense, a writ protecting his title.[34]

The reputation of Urse and Robert for land-grabbing is largely due to their depiction in Hemming's cartulary, combined with their appearance in the idiosyncratic entry for the church of Worcester in Domesday Book, which David Roffe argues was simply an estate return. He maintains that these well known texts are not indisput-

28 Abels, 'Sheriffs', 35–6.
29 *Regesta: William I*, no. 129.
30 Ann Williams, 'The Spoilation of Worcester', *ANS* 19, 1997 for 1996, 383–408 at 397.
31 GDB 176a1 (Worcs. 11/1–2).
32 *Regesta II*, no. 892.
33 Judith A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I*, Cambridge 1986, 110.
34 Williams, 'Spoilation of Worcester', 398.

able evidence of encroachment by predatory incomers on much-wronged religious houses. All parties were trying to further their own interests, and the great churches were just as powerful as their alleged persecutors. Domesday Book, Roffe argues, cannot be taken as evidence of rights, but only as evidence of claims. The claims against Urse and Robert were not primarily about their occupation of lands, but about their withholding of service. The Domesday commissioners, Roffe believes, were actively inviting claims, but then simply recorded them. Any decisions on tenure were a matter for the courts.[35]

Undermining of shrieval powers

Ecclesiastical magnates, not laymen, posed the biggest challenge to Urse's expectations of benefiting fully from his administration of the shire. The third of the Worcestershire customs recorded by the Domesday commissioners was that seven of the twelve hundreds which comprised the shire were exempt from the sheriff's jurisdiction. 'Therefore, as he states, he loses much in revenue.'[36] The 'custom' of the exclusion of the sheriff was in fact created by the clerical magnates of the shire in the immediate wake of the Norman Conquest. Urse knew that this was the case, since the king demanded the profits of justice from the whole shire, and it is likely that the sheriff's suspicions were confirmed by Englishmen in his entourage. In 1086 his effort to redress the balance in his favour was thwarted by the solid front presented by the shire jurors. His verbal challenge to the 'custom' would be far more heated than the Domesday entry indicates.

Once the 'custom' had been accepted by the commissioners, the way was clear for the individual clerical magnates to assert their own claims to the immunity of their hundreds. The church of Worcester declared that 'by an arrangement of ancient times' the bishop received all the income from the jurisdictions and customary dues arising in the triple hundred of Oswaldslow, 'so that no sheriff may hold any suit there, or any other sort of plea … The whole shire jury bears witness to this.' Patrick Wormald demonstrated that the church of Worcester's claim that Oswaldslow constituted an immunity was a post-Conquest fabrication.[37]

Although Wormald ascribed the claim to Bishop Wulfstan, it is more likely that its originator was Archbishop Ealdred, who continued to control the manors of the bishopric of Worcester after his elevation to York.[38] Inspiration for the claim was almost certainly what appear to have been genuine privileges enjoyed by Westminster abbey in its lands in the region. King Edward had granted to his designated burial church two hundred hides which effectively comprised Westminster's double hundred. His charter forbade anyone other than the abbot and monks from exercising authority in these lands.[39] This was unacceptable to the Conqueror. Since he claimed to be Edward's designated heir, he could not decently annul his grant, but would not condone the exclusion of royal officials, since this was both politically and financially unacceptable. When Westminster petitioned for a confirmation early in William's reign, he issued a writ merely confirming Pershore and Deerhurst with

35 I am indebted to David Roffe for a discussion on this subject.

36 GDB 172a1 (Worcs. C/3).

37 GDB 172b1 (Worcs. 2/1); Patrick Wormald, 'Oswaldslow: An "Immunity"?', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt, London 1996, 117–28.

38 Emma Mason, 'Wulfstan of Worcester: Patriarch of the English?', in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth, Dublin 2006, 114–26 at 114–15.

39 Harmer, *AS Writs*, no. 99. See, however, the related texts, nos. 100–2, and Harmer's discussion of the whole group, pp. 326–7 and 330–2. David Bates 'would not contest the authenticity' of no. 99 (personal communication).

all the customs which pertained to them when King Edward gave them.[40] This was the best that Westminster could hope for, but when the abbey's forgery programme was at its peak, one of the charters composed in the name of William I, addressed to all in Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire, prohibited the intrusion into the abbey's lands of sheriffs or other royal officials.[41]

The first two men addressed in King William's genuine grant for Westminster were Archbishop Ealdred and Bishop Wulfstan. If they did not already know of the privileged status accorded to Westminster's lands by King Edward, they learned of it now, and asserted the exempt status of Worcester's triple hundred by the time that Urse arrived in the shire. Cyneweard, the English sheriff whom he replaced, was a substantial tenant of the church of Worcester.[42] He would barely have 'intruded' into Oswaldslow in his official capacity, and would not feel obliged to warn Urse that his sphere of action and his source of revenue were curtailed due to the claims being asserted by the major ecclesiastical landholders of the shire. The success of Worcester's claim depended on the connivance both of the heads of the other major religious houses in Worcestershire, notably Abbot Æthelwig, and also that of their tenants who served on the shire and hundred juries. A monastic conspiracy, in which Evesham and Pershore joined with Westminster and Worcester, protected the lands of all four religious houses from the intrusion of the new Norman sheriff.

Urse's efforts to challenge the attempt to exclude him is implied in the Domesday entries recording that 'the whole shire' confirmed the exemptions claimed by Worcester on its 300 hides, and Westminster on its 200 hides.[43] The implication of the phrase 'the whole shire' is that the claims were recorded and accepted only after a full and frank exchange of views between the sheriff and the shire jurors, the latter strongly urged on by interested parties.[44] In Hemming's cartulary it was recorded that the whole shire confirmed on oath Worcester's evidence on the liberty of Oswaldslow 'with the exhortation and encouragement of the most holy and wise father, Lord Bishop Wulfstan'.[45] As Robin Fleming observed, cases involving high-ranking ecclesiastics were conducted in a noisy and restive atmosphere, due to the large crowds of monks, entourage, and tenants in attendance on their lord.[46] In effect, Urse was shouted down by the supporters of Westminster and Worcester.

The seven hundreds which were said to be exempt from intrusion by the sheriff included those held respectively by Evesham and Pershore. Nothing is said specifically about either in Domesday Book, leaving an impression that the claims of these two houses were accepted on the nod, following the acceptance of the claims by Worcester and Westminster. Probably they were challenged by the sheriff, but were accepted by the shire jurors.

The Domesday commissioners' acceptance of Urse's exclusion from the seven hundreds relied, with the exception of Westminster's claims, entirely on verbal assertion and appeals to alleged traditional rights. Several decades after the Inquest, scribes in the religious houses created supportive documentation. Worcester's forged charter in the name of King Edgar, known from its opening word as *Altitonantis*,

40 *Regesta: William I*, no. 295.
41 Ibid. no. 318.
42 Williams, 'Spoilation of Worcester', 396–7 and note 84.
43 GDB 172b1, 174b1 (Worcs. 2/1; 8/1).
44 On this phrase see *Regesta: William I*, no. 295 note.
45 Conveniently printed in *Domesday Book, 16: Worcestershire*, ed. Frank and Caroline Thorn, Chichester 1982, App. V, Worcester F.
46 Fleming, 'Oral Testimony', 105.

has been dated by R. R. Darlington to the 1140s.[47] Westminster's reworking of King William's writ concerning the abbey's Worcestershire estates was written 'towards the middle of the twelfth century' in the view of David Bates. While Abbot Æthelwig lived, his word alone would secure the immunity claimed on behalf of Evesham's small hundred of *Fissesberg*, the district around Evesham and the abbey. The claim was evidently challenged after his death in February 1078, prompting the fabrication of a purported writ of William I which excluded the sheriff from intruding into the hundred. David Bates suggests that this was composed in the second half of the twelfth century, or even later.[48] He also questioned a writ in the name of Henry I granting to Evesham the hundred, now enlarged and renamed Blackenhurst. The attestations indicate a date between April 1107 and May 1108. The witnesses included the two archbishops; Samson, bishop of Worcester; Robert, count of Meulan; Henry, earl of Warwick; and Urse de Abetot.[49] Evesham represented its claims being acknowledged by the highest authorities in the church, while curbing any intrusion by the four witnesses who had major territorial or jurisdictional interests in west Mercia.[50]

The success of the four Worcestershire religious houses in upholding their claims to exemption from shrieval control was probably reinforced by the monastic confraternity league established in the mid 1070s by Bishop Wulfstan and Abbot Æthelwig. Participants in the league would hope that their commitment to a regular round of prayers for the king and queen would be reciprocated by writs overtly intended to remedy losses caused by the Norman settlement, but which also assisted the monks in waging a power struggle against over-zealous or self-serving officials. Abbot Edmund of Pershore was head of another of the participating houses. Although both Æthelwig and Edmund were dead by 1086, their monks were also participants in the league. Its text included the aspiration that its members would maintain a unity as though all seven monasteries were one.[51] This avowedly spiritual unity may have extended to the sharing of advice on practical matters. Westminster abbey came under Norman rule following the death of Abbot Eadwine. The abbot (probably Vitalis) who was in office when the league was formed, did not participate, but the abbey maintained close oversight of its extensive lands in Worcestershire. Successive abbots made tours of inspection: the steward of Westminster conducted business in the region, as did senior monks who were occasionally dispatched there.[52] Some such opportunity was probably taken to consult with representatives of the Worcestershire houses before the Domesday commissioners arrived. But while the solidarity of these monasteries and their tenants ensured that their purported immunities were recorded in Domesday Book as legitimate, the king took a different view, resulting in Urse being financially challenged by having to make good the deficit in the shire farm, due to the loss of the profits of justice from the exempt hundreds.

47 *Ctl. Worcester*, pp. xiii–xix and no. 1. See also Julia Barrow, 'How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino, London 1992, 53–74 at 69–71.

48 *Regesta: William I*, no. 133.

49 *Regesta II*, no. 831; *Cal. Chart. R.* I, 257–8. For the comments by Bates on its authenticity see *Regesta: William I*, p. 451.

50 This writ in the name of Henry I later provided the basis for an elaborate forgery, eventually inspected and confirmed by Henry III: *Beauchamp Ctl.* no. 58.

51 Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008–1095*, Oxford 1990, 197–200; Emma Mason, 'William Rufus and the Benedictine Order', *ANS* 21, 1999 for 1998, 113–44 at 143–4.

52 Emma Mason, *Westminster Abbey and its People, c. 1050–c. 1216*, Woodbridge 1996, 13, 84–5, 96, 237.

Bishop Wulfstan was possibly collecting the geld from Oswaldslow. Exemption was claimed in *Altitonantis*, although geld was being rendered to the king in 1086.[53] While there were several types of geld, it was the heregeld which was at issue in Wulfstan's time. Both Ann Williams and David Roffe suggest that the other major Worcestershire houses were also collecting the geld in their respective hundreds.[54] There are indications that Evesham was doing so in its small hundred of *Fissesberg*.[55] In the first decade of the twelfth century, this hundred was enlarged by the incorporation of some manors from Ash hundred and renamed Blackenhurst. Its increased hidage would result in Evesham accumulating yet more of the geld.[56] The notoriety of Urse as one of those responsible for assessing and levying monastic revenues nationwide, which he was doing in the reign of William II, if not earlier, coexisted uneasily with his inability to levy much of the revenues due from monastic lands in his own shire.

Another difficulty faced Urse. As sheriff he answered for the revenues of the royal manors in the shire. A tough managerial stance should have enabled him to make a profit for himself after rendering the dues customarily levied from each, but much of the revenue from the king's manors in Worcestershire was derived from appurtenant salthouses in Droitwich. Salt-boiling required large and regular supplies of wood, but the woodland from which the salthouses on the royal manors had drawn their supplies was incorporated by the king into the forest. Without adequate supplies of wood, salt-boiling could not be maintained at the level needed to produce the income required by the king, as Urse complained strongly to the Domesday commissioners.[57] The implication was that he would have to make up the shortfall from his own revenues.

The situation was perhaps not as dire as he implied. As sheriff, Urse probably farmed Feckenham forest, as did his kinsman Osbert de Abetot when he was sheriff early in the twelfth century.[58] Urse may well have had access to wood for salt-boiling in the salthouses appurtenant to the royal manors which he farmed. Several of his own manors also had appurtenant salthouses, but woodland in two of his manors had been taken into the forest.[59] If he did control Feckenham forest, he probably ensured that supplies of wood were adequate for his own salthouses too. The importance of salt in food production would ensure big profits, and he harassed other producers in Droitwich, evidently to get a better price for his own salt.[60]

Despite his complaints to the Domesday commissioners, Urse had much to gain from the shrievalty, and remained in office for life. He served throughout four decades, a remarkable achievement, although it was almost equalled by several contemporary sheriffs.[61] It is not known who deputized for him in his later years when he was absent on the king's business. He would naturally look to one or other

53 *Ctl. Worcester*, p. xiii. The implications of clerical collection of geld are considered by Sally P. J. Harvey, 'Taxation and the Economy', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt, Woodbridge 1987, 249–64 at 261–2. See also *Regesta: William I*, nos. 349–50.

54 In conversations with the present writer.

55 *Regesta: William I*, nos. 136–7.

56 Howard B. Clarke, 'Evesham J and Evesham L: Two Early Twelfth-Century Manorial Studies', *ANS* 30, 2008 for 2007, 62–84 at 67–9.

57 GDB 172a2–b1 (Worcs. 1/3a–b).

58 *Beauchamp Ctl.* nos. 1–3.

59 GDB 177b1–2 (Worcs. 26/1–17, esp. 26/3, 5).

60 GDB 163b2 (Glos. 1/48); *Regesta II*, no. 566.

61 Green, 'Sheriffs', 129, 133.

of the kinsmen who were later to succeed him in office, and the likeliest candidate would be his son Roger.

Urse and his family evidently appreciated the status derived from the shrievalty, and he possibly aspired to adopting a toponymic from his office. The scribe of the Domesday survey for Gloucestershire referred to him as 'Urse of Worcester'.[62] His son and successor was styled 'Roger of Worcester'.[63] Emphasis on the office and the dignity which it conferred was underlined by the style of *vicecomitissa* accorded to Urse's wife.[64] Although the Conqueror and his sons permitted the shrievalty to become hereditary, Worcester was never the *caput* of the barony. This was officially Salwarpe, despite the fact that Urse's landholdings there in 1086 were undertenancies.[65]

Offices at court

Tancarville patronage probably brought Urse the office of constable and Robert that of dispenser, which gave the brothers enhanced 'visibility' during ceremonial occasions at court. At the banquet which followed a coronation or a crown-wearing, the dispenser laid a cloth on the king's table and brought on the salt-cellar and knives, which became his perquisites after the feast.[66] Some men in posts at court held all their lands by sergeanty, but Robert did not, since his estates were later divided. However, Kibworth Beauchamp in Leicestershire, which he held in 1086, was later recorded as being held in sergeanty.[67]

Robert Dispenser (*dispensator*) has sometimes been confused with Robert fitz Turstin or Thurstan.[68] However this man's Norman origins and his English landholdings indicate that he was not the brother of Urse de Abetot. In Normandy, Robert fitz Turstin was a tenant of William son of Robert Goiz in Éterville and Colomby-sur-Thaon, and was apparently known on occasion as Robert d'Éterville.[69] In England he held land by sergeanty in 1086 in Great Rollright and Ledwell in Oxfordshire. He died in the reign of William II, when he was succeeded as a dispenser by his son Turstin, who before 1105 was succeeded by his own son Hugh.[70]

Attestations to charters do not distinguish between the various dispensers in the steward's office and the buttery. In contrast, Robert Dispenser's high profile, his tenure of the barony of Tamworth, and the fact that the title of his office became his surname indicate that his office carried higher status than that of the other dispensers. Robert was probably the master-dispenser of bread and wine. His emoluments can be deduced from the *Constitutio domus regis*, composed in its present

62 GDB 169b1 (Glos. 65/1).

63 *Beauchamp Ctl.* no. 4; *Regesta II*, no. 1062.

64 Thomas Habington, *A Survey of Worcestershire*, ed. John Amphlett, Worcestershire Historical Society 1, 2 vols, 1895–9, II, 178, 263.

65 GDB 174a2, 176a1 (Worcs. 5/1; 14/2); I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent, 1086–1327*, Oxford 1960, 75–6 and note 10.

66 J. Horace Round, *The King's Serjeants & Officers of State, with their Coronation Services*, London 1911, 202, 206–8, 211.

67 Ibid. 203–4.

68 Orderic, IV, 172 note 3. However, the references cited there are to attestations by Robert Dispenser, who is never identified as fitz Turstin in these documents.

69 *Regesta: William I*, no. 48. See also the indexing of this man ibid. pp. 1120, 1122.

70 *Regesta I*, p. xxvii; *Regesta II*, p. xiii; *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, RS 2, 2 vols, London 1858, II, 37, 126.

form around the beginning of Stephen's reign.[71] Further advantages were gained from close and regular attendance on the king, notably his favourable intervention in tenurial matters.

The presence of Urse and Robert at court is demonstrated by their attestations. Such evidence is intermittent in the earlier years of the Conqueror's reign. Later, witnesses were named more frequently, and then regularly in the reign of William II, when men named as witnesses are presumed to have been present at some stage during the transaction. Similarly, genuine writs of the Conqueror rarely indicate the place of issue.[72] With these qualifications, the activities of Urse and Robert in court circles can be deduced.

Robert's curial status is indicated by his seizure of Charlton with the support of Queen Matilda.[73] On a Sunday in 1086, in April or later, Robert was among a large number of *barones* who attested the settlement of a dispute following the hearing of a plea before the king.[74] As an officer of the royal household, Robert's travels with the court would have involved repeated Channel crossings. Late in 1086 or in 1087 he attested a writ issued in Normandy, probably in Rouen.[75] Robert also ranked among the *barones* deputed by the king to hear a plea by Abbot Gilbert Crispin of Westminster.[76]

Urse witnessed, as a *minister*, only one of the extant genuine writs of William I, dating from 1067 × 1068, probably in the latter year.[77] Given the rarity of attestations to writs from the earlier part of this reign, his seeming absence from court circles at this period may be fortuitous. The term *minister* has sometimes been seen as the equivalent to 'thegn', but in 1086 Urse was named among the *barones* of the king who heard a plea between Bishop Wulfstan and Abbot Walter of Evesham.[78] When he was addressed in other writs of the Conqueror's reign, this was specifically, or in some cases implicitly, as sheriff.[79] In the account of the trial of the bishop of Durham, William de Saint-Calais, in November 1088, Urse was probably acting in his capacity as constable, even though the Durham writer describes him as a sergeant (*serviens*) of the king.[80] Urse attested charters throughout the reign of William II, in several of them as the sole witness. Known places of issue were always in England. He was also addressed as a justiciar, acting with Ralph Luffa, bishop of Chichester, Ranulf [Flambard] the chaplain, and Haimo *dapifer*.[81] During the 1090s too, Urse was active on a nationwide scale as one of the tax-assessment team headed by Ranulf Flambard. Their associates included Haimo [*dapifer*] the steward, and Robert Bloet, the chancellor. This group were the collective recipients of administrative writs conveying the instructions of the king when he was overseas, although they were also active when he was in England.[82] Despite this growing

71 Geoffrey H. White, 'The Household of the Norman Kings', *TRHS* 4th series 30, 1948, 127–55 at 133; *Constitutio Domus Regis*, in *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 198–9.

72 *Regesta: William I*, p. 61. My thanks are due to David Bates for amplification of these points.

73 *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Thomas Hearne, 2 vols, Oxford 1723, I, 269; Williams, 'Spoilation of Worcester', 398.

74 *Regesta: William I*, no. 146.

75 Ibid. no. 242.

76 J. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster: A Study of the Abbey under Norman Rule*, Cambridge 1911, 136.

77 *Regesta: William I*, no. 345.

78 Ibid. no. 350.

79 Ibid. nos. 135–7, 346.

80 *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, I, 179.

81 *Regesta I*, nos. 423–4.

82 Francis West, *The Justiciarship in England, 1066–1232*, Cambridge 1966, 11–12.

commitment, Urse continued to receive directives addressed to him in his capacity of sheriff of Worcester.[83]

The pressure on Ranulf Flambard and his team to maintain a steady cash flow would grow in the later years of the reign, when the king spent more time and money on his objectives in France. At times they exceeded their remit, as indicated in the well known writ of William II ordering them that Thorney abbey was to be assessed for gelds and knight service and customary exactions as leniently as any honor of similar size in England. If anything more had been taken, it was to be restored to the abbey.[84]

The Worcester relief

On the death of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester in January 1095, William II ordered a relief to be levied on the tenants of the bishopric. They were commanded to contribute at a rate which his barons had advised, and tenants were listed with the prescribed sums against their names. This writ, witnessed by Ranulf Flambard, Eudo *dapifer*, and Urse, concluded with the threat that if anyone failed to pay up, then Urse and Bernard (probably Bernard of Neufmarché) would seize their lands and portable wealth for the king.[85] This expedient was perhaps suggested by Samson of Bayeux, about to become bishop of Worcester, as a way of avoiding a charge of simony.[86] There was also connivance of another kind, since the names both of Urse, one of the most prominent tenants of the bishopric, and of his brother Robert, also a substantial tenant, were omitted from the list. As men in the king's service they could claim exemption, but should have been listed with the appropriate amounts due from them, followed by a note of quittance by the king's writ, as was done in the case of Roger fitz Durand. Urse and Robert, by ensuring that their own names were omitted, left the £250 demanded of the tenants to be divided among their neighbours on an arbitrary basis not necessarily in line with the extent of their landholdings.[87] These men were most likely assessed on the word of Urse himself in his capacity as sheriff, advising the 'barons' who then advised the king. Probably he also presided at the meeting of the shire court when the writ was read out. Urse, having evaded liability for the substantial sum which ought to have been assigned to him, was now empowered to seize the lands and portable wealth of defaulters, making them liable to forfeiture.[88] Perhaps he hoped, or even planned, that some men would default on their assessments, and that their ensuing forfeitures would make land available for which he could bid to hold at farm.

Pressures on the tax assessors

The tax-raising expedients which inspired the chroniclers' criticisms of Ranulf Flambard and his associates stemmed from the constant pressures under which the assessors operated. Money had to be found at short notice for campaigns along

83 J. O. Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings', *EHR* 96, 1981, 1–35 at 23.
84 *Regesta I*, no. 422; Mason, 'William Rufus and the Benedictine Order', 139.
85 *Hemingi chartularium*, I, 79; J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, London 1895, 309 (the edition omits the names of three tenants, restored in the table, ibid. 312).
86 Marjorie Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England, 1066–1166*, Oxford 1986, 64–5.
87 Round, *Feudal England*, 311–13.
88 George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure, 1066–1166*, Oxford 2007, 79.

the frontiers of England and to deal with two rebellions, besides paying mercenary troops in Normandy and the substantial wages of the *familia regis*.[89] Liveries were distributed to visiting dignitaries such as King Edgar of Scotland.[90] Duke Robert's crusading expedition was financed in return for control over Normandy, and the support of Continental allies bought at a price. On the non-military side, the daily payments to members of the royal household, later recorded in the *Constitutio domus regis*, were a regular charge on royal revenues.[91] In addition there was building work on the Tower of London and on Westminster Hall.

The barones and taxation

The recently introduced abacus could calculate both the financial needs of the king and also the most effective ways of raising the required amounts.[92] However, the writ about the Worcester relief shows that assessment of the liability to taxation of specific individuals was the business of the *barones*. These *barones*, John Prestwich observed, probably comprised the central board soon to be addressed as *barones mei de scaccario*.[93] The term *barones* was also used for the men, including Urse and Robert, as we have seen, who collectively judged disputes involving eminent litigants. Clearly there was an overlap, if not a conflation, of *barones* as tax assessors, judges, and, for want of a better word, 'agents'. The restoration of land to Westminster abbey on behalf of the dying – or perhaps actually deceased – Robert Dispenser in the late 1090s was witnessed by the *barones* Bishop Walkelin (of Winchester), Urse de Abetot, Herbert the chamberlain, Reginald of Winchester, and Ivo Taillebosc. The names of three of Robert's men followed, then the list continued with other *barones* of the king: Hugh de Beauchamp, William Baynard, Peter de Valognes, William the chamberlain (probably William Mauduit, first in a long line of chamberlains of the Exchequer), Hugh of Buckland, and Otto the goldsmith (who was probably master of the mint).[94] This combination of known financial officers and the sheriffs Hugh de Beauchamp, Hugh of Buckland, and Peter de Valognes indicates that a session of the Exchequer (still probably known as the Tallies) was disrupted to enable Robert's widow, together with Urse, to make the restoration.[95] This session was perhaps being held in the nearby royal palace, rebuilt by King Edward some decades earlier. An anecdote included by Richard fitz Nigel in his *Dialogus de Scaccario* shows that there were incentives to serve at the Tallies.[96] The exemptions and rewards which Richard mentioned were presumably already in operation in the late eleventh century, assisting Urse and Robert to evade contributing to the Worcester relief.

89 J. O. Prestwich, 'War and Finance in the Anglo-Norman State', *TRHS*, 5th series 4, 1954, 19–43 at 27.

90 Gaimar, lines 6176–88.

91 *Constitutio domus regis*, 196–215.

92 Charles Homer Haskins, 'The Abacus and the Exchequer', in his *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Cambridge MA 1924, 327–35 (revised version of 'The Abacus and the King's *curia*', *EHR* 27, 1912, 101–6).

93 Prestwich, 'War and Finance', 30.

94 *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066–c. 1214*, ed. Emma Mason assisted by the late Jennifer Bray, continuing the work of the late Desmond J. Murphy, London Record Society 25, 1988, no. 488.

95 On the participants in a session of the Tallies, later the Exchequer, see *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 8–15.

96 Ibid. 76–9.

Rivalries at court

Tensions at court ran high, due to mutual suspicions and rivalries as the officials competed for patronage. Robert Dispenser coined the nickname Flambard ('torch-bearer') for Ranulf the chaplain, because of the way he issued orders to even the greatest magnates.[97] Hostilities could take a much graver form, as Ranulf himself discovered when he was kidnapped and about to be murdered at the instigation of rivals, but talked his way out of trouble.[98] Probably any ambitious man was prepared to work until he literally dropped in his tracks. The circumstances surrounding Robert Dispenser's restoration to Westminster abbey suggest that he died in harness, and Urse was still travelling with Henry I in the last months of his life. No man could take things easy in his declining years, since there was always someone ready to bid higher for the lands and privileges which he himself coveted. Visibly poor health or faculties sent signals to would-be supplanters.

In their anxiety for personal aggrandisement, courtiers tried to learn their future prospects. Robert, bishop of Hereford, a Lotharingian known for his skill with the abacus, also had a reputation as an astrologer.[99] Courtiers kept quiet about any forecasts made on their behalf, however, since predictions might have political overtones. During the civil war in Stephen's reign, astrology was certainly used to forecast major developments. Another Lotharingian astrologer, the monk Walcher, was also active in England from the early 1090s.[100] He became prior of Great Malvern. It is not known whether he was already in office when Urse de Abetot became a benefactor of this house.[101]

Self-promotion might give a courtier an advantage over his rivals. Already by the end of the eleventh century, what have been termed 'proto-heraldic' devices were coming into use.[102] It is likely that an early example of this was the device of the Bear, in Latin *Ursus*, and that it was used by Urse de Abetot himself, well before its adoption by his Beauchamp descendants. The Bear was both a play on his name and also, as the Norse symbol of strength and ferocity, a fitting device for a man who made his reputation as an enforcer. The frequency and context of his attestations show that Urse kept powerful company. As an associate of Ranulf Flambard, he had a high profile. At court he mingled with men who in landed terms, and hence in the political influence they wielded, counted for more than he did. Self-promotion through the visual imagery of the Bear could further his ambitions at court.

Political loyalties

Courtiers had to decide quickly in a crisis whether their interests would be better served by continuing loyalty to the current ruler or to some rival claimant. Robert Dispenser's views have left no trace. Urse was a conspicuous loyalist in 1075 when he, together with Walter de Lacy of Weobley, Bishop Wulfstan, and Abbot

97 Orderic, IV, 172–3.

98 Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie*, ed. and trans. David Rollason, Oxford 2000, 268–73.

99 Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, cc. 164, 177 (pp. 458–9, 474–5).

100 *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett, London 1987, 13, 102, 107, 139, 167, 174.

101 *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, I: 940–1216*, ed. David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and Vera C. M. London, 2nd edn, Cambridge 2001, 90.

102 Adrian Ailes, 'The Knight, Heraldry and Armour: The Role of Recognition and the Origins of Heraldry', in *Medieval Knighthood IV*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey, Woodbridge 1992, 1–21 at 9–10. See also Robert Jones, 'Identifying the Warrior on the Pre-Heraldic Battlefield', *ANS* 30, 2008 for 2007, 154–67 at 164–6.

Æthelwig, gathered huge forces and successfully held the line of the Severn against the rebels. By preventing Roger, earl of Hereford, from crossing to join Ralph, earl of Norfolk, they played an essential role in the defeat of the rebellion.[103] Urse and his associates were four of the most important barons in the west Midlands after Earl Roger, whose own status, Chris Lewis has argued, was demonstrably lower in the early 1070s than that of his father had been.[104] The men who confronted Roger in 1075 would be convinced of their ability both to halt his advance and to gain personally from his downfall. The removal of the earl from the three counties in which the majority of their estates lay ensured that Urse and his colleagues all became relatively more powerful.[105]

During the crisis of 1075, Urse probably commanded Worcester castle, as he had most likely done since the time he was in charge of building it. It occupied the most defensible site in Worcester, and from its commanding heights Urse could dominate both city and shire, together with the strategically vital river crossing.[106] Surprisingly, he seems neither to have been in charge of the castle nor of the defence of the line of the Severn during the crisis of 1088. John of Worcester wrote that the garrison invited Bishop Wulfstan into the castle and he then encouraged all available troops to march out across the bridge over the Severn to confront the forces of the rebel marcher lords threatening the city.[107]

Hugh Doherty has questioned John's account of Wulfstan's occupation of the castle, suggesting that he included it to support the claims of the monks to recover the bailey, which was taken from their land when the castle was built.[108] Yet the episode, if genuine, is open to more than one interpretation. If the services of Urse were required elsewhere, he would put a deputy in charge of the castle, and he is unlikely to have chosen the bishop. The garrison perhaps invited the bishop in over the head of this man, if they doubted his competence to lead them. However, John's story of an invitation by the garrison might disguise the fact that Wulfstan had been appointed by the king to take charge of the castle, of the defence of the city, and of the river crossing. As a monk-bishop of the old school, his loyalty would be assured.

The absence of Urse, if he was not called away on official business, might support Hugh Doherty's further theory that every man mentioned by name in the account of the trial of William de Saint-Calais had been implicated in the rebellion, or was suspected of having done so.[109] But if those named did rebel, they either evaded reprimand or were very quickly pardoned, as Richard Sharpe has demonstrated was often the case.[110] Even if Doherty is correct, Urse may have been named simply as a suspect. The plotters would believe that he was under obligation to join them, since he had received lands from Bishop Odo.[111] Talk of his anticipated adherence to the revolt would circulate, hence the attempt to name and shame him.

Neil Strevett, on the other hand, has maintained that both William II in 1088 and Henry I in 1101 were supported by those whose interests were based in England,

[103] John of Worcester, III, 24–7.

[104] Christopher Lewis, 'The Norman Settlement of Herefordshire under William I', *ANS* 7, 1985 for 1984, 195–213 at 212.

[105] W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194*, Oxford 1966, 168.

[106] Richard Holt, 'The City of Worcester in the Time of Wulfstan', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. Julia S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks, Aldershot 2005, 123–35 at 132–3.

[107] John of Worcester, III, 52–5.

[108] In conversation with the writer.

[109] In a further personal communication.

[110] Richard Sharpe, '1088 – William II and the Rebels', *ANS* 26, 2004 for 2003, 139–57.

[111] GDB 176a1 (Worcs. 11/1–2).

and especially by men who had prospered in royal service, including Urse de Abetot. Many of the sheriffs in office during both crises started their careers as tenants of influential magnates in pre-Conquest Normandy, but found themselves in opposition to these grand kinsmen and patrons both in 1088 and again in 1101. Royal service in England enabled them to build up careers which they did not wish to disrupt. As the king's representatives in the localities, they enjoyed power and influence, both in asserting authority on behalf of the king, and in manipulating royal authority to their own advantage. A successful attempt to make Robert Curthose king would have brought their former lords and patrons to England, threatening the status they had achieved since 1066.[112] Urse had good reason for resisting any claims made on him by Bishop Odo in 1088.

There is no evidence that Urse stepped out of line in 1095. A decade earlier, he had exchanged some land with one of the rebels of that year, Roger de Lacy of Weobley, but this transaction simplified estate administration for both parties, and carried no connotations of shared views on political issues.[113] However, one further circumstance of potential relevance, the identity of the wives of Urse and Robert, is discussed below.

Robert Dispenser died before the end of 1097.[114] Urse, however, was still active when Henry I seized the throne on 2 August 1100, usurping the rights of the designated heir, Robert Curthose.[115] The new king needed to make a gesture to win the hearts and minds of his subjects. Ranulf Flambard later told the monks of Durham that he now found himself surrounded by those seeking to trap him. The king ordered his arrest on 15 August, and had him imprisoned in the Tower.[116] The men associated with him in the assessment of taxes had earned their share of indignation from irate monastic communities. In their climb to wealth and status they had no doubt also angered personal rivals both in their own localities and also at court. Urse perhaps suspected that he might be arrested, but the machinery of government must be maintained, and he did not have such a high profile that Henry I would gain any political advantage by demoting him. Urse retained his status as sheriff of Worcester.[117] What did change was the nature of his deployment in a wider setting. Evidence ceases of his role in the levying of taxes, but his attestations to writs of Henry I indicate that down to his death in the summer of 1108, he travelled with the king more often than in previous reigns. This impression may be misleading, both in view of the steady rise in the volume of documentation and because the dates of many of Urse's attestations are uncertain. It is possible that most occurred during only a few journeys with Henry I. Even so, it seems that Urse was frequently on the move. At the beginning of the new reign he was at least fifty-five and perhaps a decade or so older. He needed to keep going since ambitious younger courtiers would see him as elderly, and ripe for overtaking in the promotion stakes. Urse perhaps literally dropped in his tracks at court.

Despite his continued employment, Urse perhaps now lost control of the Lincolnshire estates of his brother Robert, which he held after the latter's death.[118] They

112 Neil Strevett, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War of 1101 Reconsidered', *ANS* 26, 2004 for 2003, 159–75 at 164.
113 *Beauchamp Ctl.* p. xxv.
114 *Westminster Abbey Charters*, no. 488.
115 Robert's status as heir was established by the treaty of Rouen: ASC 1091 E.
116 Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, 272–3.
117 *Regesta II*, nos. 488a, 501.
118 *Ancient Charters, Royal and Private, prior to A.D. 1200, Part I*, ed. John Horace Round, Pipe Roll Society 10, 1888, no. 1.

did not come into the possession of Walter de Beauchamp when the king granted him 'the whole land of Roger of Worcester, of whomsoever he may have held it'.[119] On this evidence, Roger de Abetot did not succeed to the Lincolnshire lands on the death of Urse. If they were held at farm, this was not renewed for Roger, but possibly Urse lost control of them on the accession of Henry I.

Religious patronage

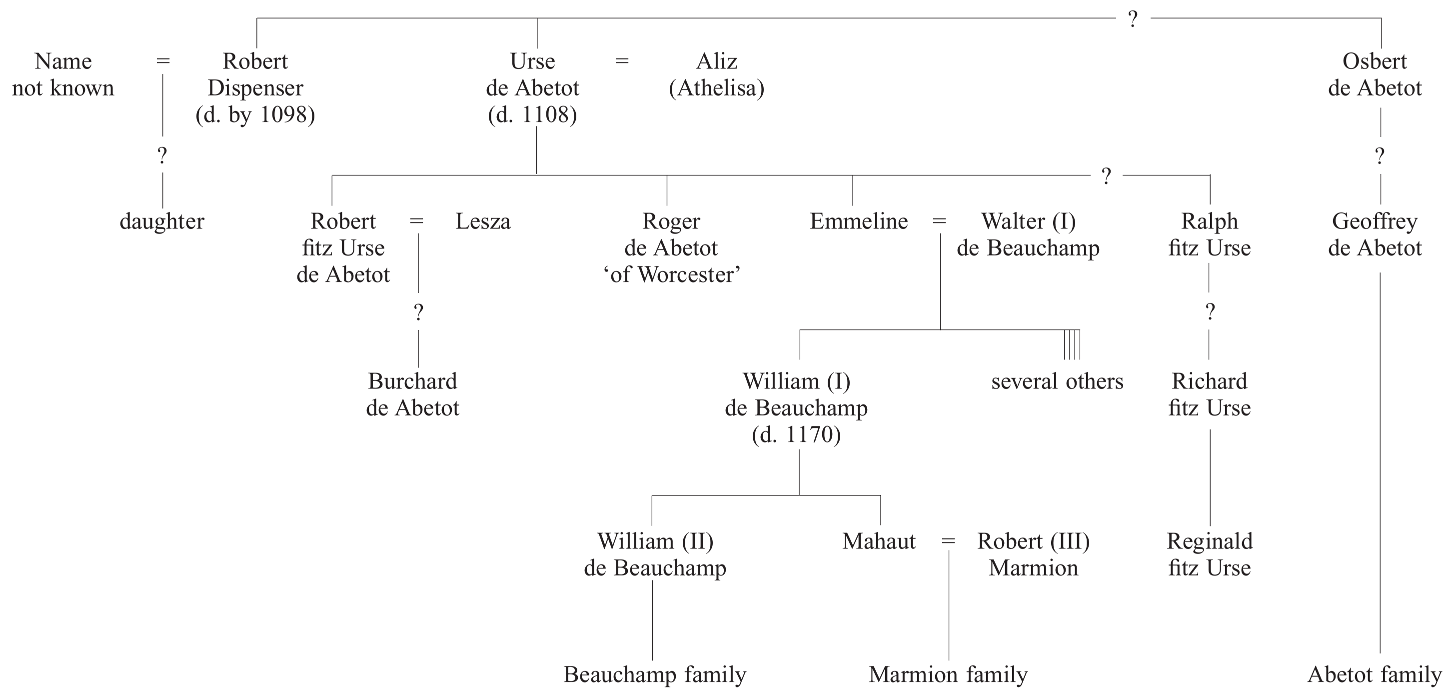
Robert's restoration to Westminster abbey comprised the land and manor of Comberton in Worcestershire, appurtenant to the abbey's estate, and which he had bought from Gilbert fitz Turold, together with the land which he held at farm from Abbot Gilbert in Westminster's manor of Wick, itself a member of the manor of Pershore (Fig. 2).[120] In 1086 Gilbert fitz Turold held 9 hides in Comberton as a tenant of the abbey.[121] There was no mention of Robert being the abbey's tenant in Wick, but both Urse and Gilbert fitz Turold held land there.[122] Robert's subsequent occupancy of land in Wick was seemingly above board, but he had apparently acquired his estate in Comberton without reference to the abbey. Apparently the restoration was not recorded in a charter. The monks simply made a memorandum of the proceedings. Robert's unnamed wife, together with Urse, placed on the high altar of the abbey two silver candelabra, a censer, an altar cloth, and a tapestry. These objects, readily to hand, would be held up in view of the crowd of witnesses before being placed on the altar to symbolize the restitution. There was an ominous imbalance in the weight of the witnesses, between the royal officials on the one side, and those representing the abbey, apart from the *dapifer* and proctor of Westminster, Hugh of Colham, witnessing without any title.[123] The monks might suspect that Urse would try to merge the estate he held in Comberton with that which Robert had held.[124] They obtained from Henry I a writ, addressed to Urse and the king's barons of Worcestershire, informing them that he had 'conceded' to St Peter of Westminster the land of Comberton which Robert Dispenser 'gave' to the abbey.[125]

As lord of the honor of Tamworth, Robert was probably patron of the college of St Edith, a community of secular priests in Tamworth itself, most likely founded in the tenth century.[126] It left little trace in the records after *c.* 1002 × 1004, when it received a grant of land under the will of Wulfric Spot, the late lord of Tamworth.[127] The advowson, held in 1280 by the Marmion family, was presumably acquired when they were granted the honor after the death of Robert Dispenser.[128]

Urse was a benefactor of Great Malvern, a cell of Westminster abbey. According to William of Malmesbury, it originated as a hermitage occupied by Ealdwine, a former monk of Worcester.[129] It lay on land formerly held by Earl Odda, whose

119 *Beauchamp Ctl.* no. 4.
120 *Westminster Abbey Charters*, no. 488.
121 GDB 175a1 (Worcs. 8/23).
122 GDB 174b1 (Worcs. 8/2).
123 *Westminster Abbey Charters*, no. 488.
124 GDB 175a2 (Worcs. 8/27).
125 Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 147, no. 28.
126 David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn, London 1971, 418, 440; see also ibid. 269.
127 S 1536.
128 D. A. Johnson, 'The College of St. Edith, Tamworth', in *VCH Staffs*. III, 309–15 at 309–10.
129 William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, 64–7.

Figure 3 The families of Abetot, fitz Urse, and Beauchamp



estates escheated to the king at his death in 1056. Edward granted many of them to Westminster abbey, including the large manor of Longdon near Malvern.[130] In 1086 Urse was Westminster's tenant on a 5-hide estate there.[131] The election of Gilbert Crispin as abbot of Westminster *c.* 1085 coincides with the date given in the Worcester Annals for the (re-)foundation of Great Malvern as a Benedictine priory.[132] Abbot Gilbert is said to have donated lands adjoining Powick.[133] It is likely that the hermitage was on, or adjacent to, the estate held by Urse in Longdon, and that Abbot Gilbert consulted him before converting it into a Benedictine priory, since its enlargement and its new activities would have an impact on the neighbourhood. In a lawsuit of 1318 it was claimed that Urse was the founder of the house, having assented to the installation of a prior and monks on the site of a pre-Conquest foundation of hermits.[134]

Towards the end of his life, Urse notified the brethren of Great Malvern that he granted to 'St Mary and you' the tithes of Bransford and Powick for the redemption of his soul. Samson, bishop of Worcester (1096–1112), witnessed the charter in company with Prior Thomas (of Worcester, 1080–1113), Athelisa *vicecomitissa*, Osbern White, Hugh the *dapifer* (presumably Hugh of Colham, representing Westminster abbey), and Ralph the chamberlain (possibly another representative of Westminster abbey).[135] The tithes which Urse granted came from lands in Powick valued in 1086 at £9 5*s*., which he held of Westminster abbey, together with lands in Bransford, valued at £4, which he held of Pershore abbey.[136] Even more than this income, the monks would appreciate having the powerful Urse as their benefactor. His support would be welcome, particularly in view of the long-running contest for control over the priory waged between Westminster abbey and the church of Worcester.

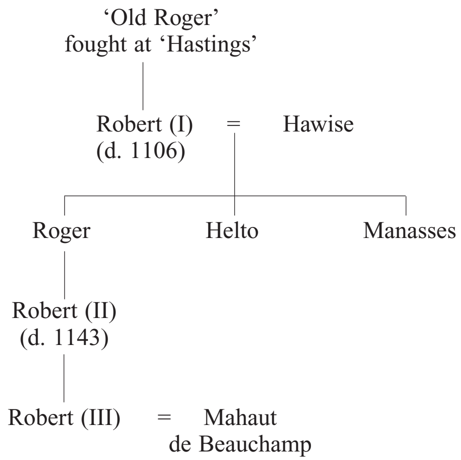
Marriages and family connections (Fig. 3)

Robert Dispenser's wife is not named in the memorandum of the restoration which she, together with Urse, made to Westminster abbey on her husband's behalf. Nothing is known of her family origins or of whether Robert married more than once.

The charter of Urse for Great Malvern shows that in his later years he was married to a woman whose name was Latinized to Athelisa. In the family circle she probably answered to Aliz. Her style of *vicecomitissa* was perhaps accorded by the scribe in deference to the status of Urse in the locality.[137] Equally, though, if Aliz's natal family was of high status, she may have claimed the style for herself. She survived Urse by about fifteen years, and perhaps more.[138] Aliz may have been a very elderly woman by the time of her death, although she was possibly the second or even the third wife of Urse. He was an adult before the Norman Conquest, and may have married before leaving the duchy. In the event of bereavement he would,

130 *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. Reginald R. Darlington, Camden 3rd series 40, 1928, pp. xli–xlii.
131 GDB 174b2 (Worcs. 8/9e).
132 *Heads of Religious Houses, I*, 77, 90.
133 *Westminster Abbey Charters*, no. 243 note.
134 *Placitorum in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum abbreviatio*, London 1811, 331.
135 Habington, *Worcestershire*, 178, 263.
136 GDB 174b2, 175b1 (Worcs. 8/10b; 9/5c).
137 Habington, *Worcestershire*, 178, 263.
138 *Beauchamp Ctl.* no. 6.

Figure 4 The family of Marmion



as he gained in wealth and influence, have been in a position to acquire a wife from a high-status family. One coincidence which might be a pointer to this having occurred is that his one known daughter, Emmeline, had the same given name as the wife of Walter de Lacy of Weobley.[139] Any link by marriage with the Lacy family would be embarrassing when Roger de Lacy rebelled in 1095.

Robert Dispenser evidently had no surviving son. Following his death, William II permitted Urse to exchange Ingoldmells, Robert's remotest Lincolnshire estate (Fig. 2), with Robert de Lacy of Pontefract.[140] Presumably Urse also acquired his brother's other Lincolnshire lands in the late 1090s, but the Lindsey Survey, compiled between 1115 and 1118, records them as held by Roger Marmion.[141] Robert Dispenser's honor of Tamworth also descended in the Marmion family. The Beauchamps gained most of his estates in Leicestershire and Worcestershire, while the Marmions gained the rest of Robert's scattered lands. There is no evidence of the grounds for this division. It was suggested by J. H. Round that Urse had another daughter besides Emmeline and that this woman was married to Robert Marmion, a deduction based on his examination of the Worcestershire Survey.[142] A second daughter of Urse, however, would surely have gained some of her father's land after Roger de Abetot's forfeiture, but the Marmions held nothing of Urse's former estates.

According to Wace, 'Old Roger Marmion' fought bravely in the battle of Hastings, and was well rewarded (Fig. 4).[143] Despite his exploits there was no move to England in the immediate wake of the Conquest. William Dugdale, citing 'an old parchment owned by John Ferrers of Tamworth', claimed that William I granted Tamworth to

139 *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. William Henry Hart, RS 33, 3 vols, 1863–7, I, 73, 122, 224, 227, 258, 351; II, 127. Walter's mother was Emma, ibid. I, 15.

140 *Ancient Charters*, ed. Round, no. 1.

141 *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, trans. and ed. C. W. Foster and Thomas Longley, Lincoln Record Society 19, 1924, 237, 241, 247, 256, 259–60.

142 *Beauchamp Ctl.* p. xxi.

143 Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. Glyn S. Burgess with the text of Anthony J. Holden, notes by Glyn S. Burgess and Elisabeth van Houts, St Helier 2002, lines 8490–2.

Robert Marmion.[144] However, since Robert Dispenser held Tamworth until the later 1090s, it was William Rufus who granted the barony to Robert Marmion. Robert had supported Robert Curthose in Normandy earlier in the decade, as indicated by his attestation in Robert's company to a restoration of tithes to Holy Trinity, Rouen, in 1091.[145] The subsequent grant to him of the honor of Tamworth was probably a reward for his contribution to William II's campaigns in Normandy. Robert Marmion supported Duke Robert on his return to the duchy, as shown by his attestation to a ducal charter for Saint-Etienne, Caen, in 1102.[146] At his death in 1106, his widow Hawise became a nun of Holy Trinity, Caen, to which she donated lands in Normandy that Robert had held at his death. Her sons Roger, Helto, and Manasses assented to her grant.[147] On chronological grounds it is just possible that Hawise was a daughter of Robert Dispenser. Roger Marmion, her eldest son, was active in a judicial role in Normandy during the reign of Henry I.[148] His appearance in the Lindsey Survey shows that, if his father had not already done so, he himself acquired Robert Dispenser's Lincolnshire lands, but there is no proof that his tenure of the honor of Tamworth was reinforced by his marriage, or that of his father, to a daughter of Robert Dispenser.

The division of Robert Dispenser's lands, besides serving as an inducement to Robert Marmion to continue his support for William Rufus in Normandy, also rewarded Urse for long service. Even so, the Lincolnshire lands which he held in the late 1090s were afterwards transferred to the Marmions, probably as an incentive to support Henry I's campaigns.

The children of Urse

At the death of Urse, his son Roger succeeded to his lands and to the office of sheriff of Worcester, although his tenure of these was short-lived.[149] William of Malmesbury, when recording Ealdred's rhyming curse of Urse, wrote that this continued with the warning that if he did not relocate the castle which he was in process of building, then his offspring would not remain long on the lands of St Mary (of Worcester). William added that this prophecy was fulfilled. Not many years later, Roger was expelled from his hereditary lands by Henry I, since he had ordered one of his men to kill a royal officer.[150] Warren Hollister suggested that Roger's forfeiture was connected with events at Pentecost 1110, when Henry I dispossessed William Malet, Philip de Braose, and William Baynard for unspecified wrongs against the king, an episode which occurred during a truce between England and France, when each king was encouraging the magnates of the other to plot rebellion.[151]

Urse was also survived by a daughter. Dugdale, naming her as Emmeline, cited 'a manuscript register in the possession of the dean and chapter of Worcester'. She is not named in Worcester's Register I, but Darlington, in his edition of that manuscript, suggested that Dugdale referred to the lost Register II.[152] This suggestion is supported by the inclusion, in an episcopal confirmation of the monks' property dated

144 William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 2 vols, London 1675–6, I, 375.
145 *Regesta I*, no. 317.
146 *Regesta II*, no. 621.
147 *CDF*, no. 425.
148 *Regesta II*, nos. 1183, 1352, 1593.
149 *Ctl. Worcester*, nos. 39–41.
150 Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 115 (pp. 384–5).
151 C. Warren Hollister, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World*, London 1986, 132–3, 281–2.
152 *Ctl. Worcester*, p. xxvi and notes 3–4.

1149, of the tithe of wine of Elmley given by William de Beauchamp and his *antecessores*. This wording indicates that an earlier charter, now lost, had been granted in the joint names of Walter and his wife.[153] William de Beauchamp, in a charter of his own, named Urse as his grandfather.[154] According to Hemming, Urse provided Emmeline's marriage portion by seizing the manor of Acton, which Æthelwig, abbot of Evesham, had misappropriated from Worcester cathedral priory.[155] Domesday Book, though, recorded that Urse obtained the manor, worth £4, from Æthelwig in exchange for another estate. (After the death of Æthelwig, Odo of Bayeux had seized the land, but was later imprisoned.) Urse now held Acton from the bishop of Bayeux's holding.[156] The manor was not a marriage portion designed to attract a high-status husband for Emmeline.

Walter de Beauchamp's origins are obscure.[157] He may have been a neighbour of Urse's family in Normandy.[158] Walter held little land other than that which he acquired after the forfeiture of Roger de Abetot, except that in Berkshire he had quittance of geld at Michaelmas 1130.[159] Henry I's writ granting Roger's land to Walter de Beauchamp probably dates from the summer of 1114.[160] When he succeeded to the lands, Osbert de Abetot was in charge of Feckenham forest, and also continued as sheriff for a while before Walter succeeded to the office.[161] A grant to him by Aliz, widow of Urse, of her (dower) land was confirmed by Henry I in 1123 × 1129.[162] He is not known to have been at court until after the death of his father-in-law, and his elevation to all of Urse's lands and half of Robert Dispenser's is remarkable at a time when other complexes of lands and office were being split up on the deaths of their incumbents. Walter had presumably rendered good service of some kind to Henry I.

The existence of a second son of Urse is implied in charters of the Tancarville family. William de Tancarville, the king's chamberlain, notifying his son Rabel of gifts he was making to Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville, included 4 acres in Abetot, located between the church there and the house of Robert son of Urse.[163] Subsequently, *c.* 1128, Rabel de Tancarville included in his list of benefactions to his (re-)foundation of Saint-Martin and Sainte-Barbe (Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge) as a house of Augustinian canons, a grant of the land which Lesza, wife of Robert de Abetot, gave them at her death, a gift which Robert placed upon the altar.[164] Lesza's bequest was evidently of land held of the Tancarville family. Although this land was not located, her grant was listed among properties in Normandy, and Robert was living near enough to ratify it in person.

On circumstantial grounds, Robert de Abetot seems to be a son of Urse de Abetot, sheriff of Worcester. If Robert was the eldest son, who elected to take the patrimony rather than the acquired lands, he chose the short straw, but this choice

153 Ibid. no. 73. On the term *antecessor* in a similar context, see K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Antecessor Noster: The Parentage of Countess Lucy Made Plain', *Prosopon* 2, May 1995, pp. [1–2].
154 *Ctl. Worcester*, no. 338.
155 *Hemingi cartularium*, I, 250–1.
156 GDB 176a1 (Worcs. 11/1).
157 His relationship to Peverel de Beauchamp is doubtful: *Ctl. Worcester*, p. xxvi.
158 Walter perhaps originated in Beaucamp (Seine-Maritime, cant. Saint-Romain-de-Colbosc). Benefactions from *Belchamp* were included in the Tancarville gift to Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville: *RADN*, no. 197.
159 *PR 31 Henry I*, 126.
160 *Beauchamp Ctl.* no. 4.
161 Ibid. nos. 1–3, 5.
162 Ibid. no. 6.
163 Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI (2), p. 1066, no. I.
164 *CDF*, no. 568.

might seem natural if he was the son of a marriage contracted before the summer of 1066. Orderic Vitalis wrote that the wives of some of those who campaigned in England in that year did not dare to join them, both because of the unaccustomed sea voyage and because they were afraid of having to seek out their husbands while skirmishes were still taking place daily.[165] Leaving aside the unresolved questions as to whether Robert was the eldest son, and whether he was reared in Normandy, it may well be that in view of the intermittent warfare between the Conqueror's sons down to 1106, Urse decided to safeguard his ancestral lands for the family by assigning them to Robert.

It is arguable that Urse had a third son. No later than 1097, Ralph fitz Urse was the sole witness to a writ of William II for Baldwin, abbot of Bury St Edmunds.[166] Although Urse de Abetot shared his given name with several known contemporaries, most if not all of these men were active only in Normandy, so that Ralph is likely to have been his son. It would be natural to introduce a younger son into royal service, but Ralph has left little trace in the records. Since he was not destined to inherit either the English or the Norman lands, he could not take a toponym to distinguish himself from his many contemporaries named Ralph. Fitz Urse, therefore, would become a hereditary surname, keeping alive the name of the eminent ancestor. Probably Ralph was the father of Richard fitz Urse, and therefore grandfather of Reginald fitz Urse, one of Becket's murderers.[167]

The identity proposed for Robert fitz Urse de Abetot and Ralph fitz Urse is weakened by the fact that neither succeeded to the lands of Roger de Abetot 'of Worcester', nor did Ralph acquire the shrievalty. Even if both Ralph and Robert were legitimate, a formal division of the English and Norman lands might preclude Robert from succeeding to Roger's lands. Similarly, if Ralph died young, he may have left a son who was a minor and discounted as a successor to Roger. This suggestion is supported by the fact that Richard fitz Urse attests only from the last years of Henry I's reign. On the other hand if Ralph, and perhaps also Robert, joined Roger in rebellion, they would certainly be barred from succeeding him. In a period when the succession to baronies was often fragmented, the disrupted succession to that of Urse was in no way unusual.

In the event, it was Osbert de Abetot who succeeded Roger as sheriff. He did not, however, receive any of his lands, as shown by the wording of Henry I's charter granting all of these to Walter de Beauchamp.[168] Osbert's retention of the family toponymic suggests that he was a brother of Urse, rather than a son. While in office, Osbert probably had custody of Roger's escheated lands, and perhaps siphoned off some of the profits for himself. He was still sheriff when Walter de Beauchamp first acquired the lands, but his replacement soon ensued.[169] It would have been advisable, since Walter now commanded far more tenurial power in the shire than he did. Like later generations of the Abetots in Worcestershire, Osbert was probably a tenant of the Beauchamp fief. Geoffrey de Abetot, active in the shire in subsequent decades, was most likely Osbert's son.[170]

165 Orderic, II, 218–21.
166 *Regesta I*, no. 393.
167 *ODNB*, XIX, 946.
168 *Beauchamp Ctl.* nos. 1–4.
169 Ibid. no. 5.
170 Ibid. nos. 6, 9.

Later views of Urse de Abetot

Memories of Urse, and of Robert Dispenser to a lesser extent, lived on, despite the descent of their lands in male lines other than their own. In a sense their misdeeds were already becoming legendary in their own lifetimes. Hemming depicted the brothers as the latest in a long line of persecutors of the church of Worcester. But as Ann Williams has observed, this representation glosses over the fact that Urse was trying to make good his personal losses which resulted from the shortfall in the shire farm, due to the success of the major ecclesiastical landholders in claiming their liberties.[171]

The depiction of Urse by monastic writers, and his treatment of local religious houses, illustrates a long-standing conflict between the perceptions of the clerical order and those of the aristocracy. To the clerics, the deadliest of the Seven Deadly Sins was pride, depicted as the mailed horseman trampling on their rights and possessions.[172] The *chansons de geste*, in contrast, depicted monks as inferior beings, too 'soft' in comparison to the warriors, but also 'too clever by half' as they used their brains and their literary skills to get the better of aristocrats in the struggle for lands and wealth.[173]

The monastic writers William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis, as we have seen, drew on the reputation of Urse and Robert for lively anecdotes which they included in their chronicles. At Durham, their attestations were included in the witness lists of forgeries produced during the course of the twelfth century.[174] Even at the end of the twelfth century and beyond, Urse was still depicted as the archetypal villain. Gerald of Wales included in his *Speculum ecclesie* an episode which reworked an anecdote introduced by Osbert de Clare in his *Life* of King Edward. In Gerald's version, Urse, among many other wrongs committed against Bishop Wulfstan, contrived to have letters sent ordering him to surrender his pastoral staff to the king. Wulfstan hurried to Westminster and rammed his staff into the masonry of the tomb of Edward, the king who had appointed him. Neither Urse nor anyone else could dislodge it. Wulfstan retrieved it effortlessly and was confirmed in office, but Urse continued to harass the bishop. Whenever Wulfstan was provoked to anger against him, he called down the rhyming curse (now ascribed to him, not to Ealdred), upon the head of Urse, bringing divine vengeance upon him and his descendants.[175]

The Bear lives on

Among descendants of the Domesday tenants-in-chief, the French toponymic remained the normal surname, although an exception occurred when a man took a name from his mother's or his wife's line when he inherited her rights.[176] Walter de Beauchamp's origins were obscure, yet he retained his French toponymic. Abetot

171 Williams, 'Spoilation of Worcester', 397–9.

172 Lester K. Little, 'Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom', *American Historical Review* 76, 1971, 16–49.

173 Peter Noble, 'Anti-Clericalism in the Feudal Epic', in *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of David J. A. Ross*, ed. Peter Noble, Lucie Polak, and Claire Isoz, New York 1982, 149–58, esp. 155–6.

174 *Regesta: William I*, nos. 109–11, 114–15.

175 *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, IV, 343–4.

176 J. C. Holt, *What's in a Name? Family Nomenclature and the Norman Conquest*, Stenton Lecture 1981, Reading 1982, 20–2.

was equally obscure, and in any case Walter did not obtain land there. Nor did he adopt the style 'of Worcester', despite obtaining the shrievalty, which became hereditary in his family. Yet he acknowledged the source of his landed wealth by adopting the badge of the Bear. This device appears on the seal of the fitz Urse line, naturally enough.[177] It was exceptional, though, for the Beauchamps to adopt it without changing their surname. In Worcestershire, where the hub of their estates lay, the memory of the power exercised by Urse remained strong. Both in Hemming's Cartulary and in the *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham*, scribes recording the misappropriation of land by the Beauchamps refer to them as the *Ursini*.[178] Clearly the little bears were seen as chips off the old block. Even when Alice Mauduit brought the earldom of Warwick to the Beauchamps in 1268, the Bear continued as their predominant device, to which the ragged staff of the legendary Guy of Warwick was added only occasionally.[179] In St Mary's church in Warwick, visitors are still confronted by many little bears, reminders of the great Bear.

177 Adrian Ailes, 'Heraldry in Twelfth-Century England: The Evidence', in *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams, Woodbridge 1990, 1–16 at 11–12.

178 Round, *Feudal England*, 469; *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. William Dunn Macray, RS 29, London 1863, 97.

179 Warwickshire Museum, *The Bear and Ragged Staff*, 1980, unpaginated.

GERALD OF WALES AND THE PROPHET MERLIN

Ad Putter

My subject is the remarkable role of the prophet Merlin in English politics from Henry II through to King John, as evidenced by the writer who outlived them both, Gerald of Wales.[1] Gerald was born in 1146, just a few years after the publication of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*; he died in 1223, after a long retirement from a busy but ultimately disappointing life: he had been a student and master in Paris, a courtier and diplomat in the service of Henry II and his successor Richard, an archdeacon of Brecon, but his dream of becoming a distinguished bishop had come to nothing. Despite all his business, he was an extremely prolific writer. Below is an approximate chronology of Gerald's works that are relevant to my argument (he in fact wrote much more).[2]

1 *Topographia Hibernica* (*The Topography of Ireland*). 1st recension 1187, dedicated to Henry II; 2nd recension 1189; 3rd recension early thirteenth century.[3]

2 *Vaticinalis historia* (*The Prophetic History*). There are two recensions: version α, 1189, dedicated to Count Richard; and version β, pre-dating 1218, entitled *Expugnatio Hibernica* (*The Conquest of Ireland*).[4]

3 *Itinerarium Kambriae* (*The Journey through Wales*). 1st edition 1191; 2nd edition 1197; 3rd edition 1214.[5]

4 *Gemma ecclesiastica* (*The Jewel of the Church*). 1197.[6]

5 *De invectionibus*. Begun 1200, completed 1216.[7]

6 *De principis instructione*. Book I, a Mirror for Princes, published 1192; books II–III, a scathing account of the Plantagenet kings, not released until 1217.[8]

1 This article began life as a plenary lecture for the XXIst International Arthurian Congress at the University of Utrecht, August 2005. I would like to thank the organizers of that conference, Bart Besamusca and Frank Brandsma, for the invitation, and Chris Lewis for giving me an opportunity to return to the topic at a memorable Battle Conference in July 2008. John Gillingham and Myra Stokes read a draft version; I am grateful to them for suggestions and corrections.

2 A full list of works with dates of composition is given in Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223*, Oxford 1982, 213–21.

3 *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, James F. Dimock, and George F. Warner, 8 vols, RS 21, 1861–91 [hereafter *Opera*], V, 1–204. There is a translation of the 1st recension by John J. O'Meara, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, Harmondsworth 1982. This and Gerald's other works will be quoted in English translation, with relevant Latin words in square brackets.

4 *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland*, ed. and trans. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin, Dublin 1978.

5 *Opera*, VI, 1–152; trans. Lewis Thorpe, *The Journey through Wales*, Harmondsworth 1978.

6 *Opera*, II; trans. John J. Hagen, *Gerald of Wales: The Jewel of the Church,* Leiden 1979.

7 Ed. W. S. Davies, *Y Cymmrodor* 30, 1920.

8 *Opera*, VIII. Books II and III trans. Joseph Stevenson, *On the Instruction of Princes,* London 1858, reprinted Felinfach 1991.

7 *De jure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae*. 1218.[9]
8 *Retractiones*. 1219.[10]
9 *Speculum ecclesiae* (*A Mirror of the Church*). 1220.[11]
10 *Speculum duorum*. 1222.[12]

It is important to note that Gerald produced multiple editions of many of his works: much of his writing was rewriting, and the how and why of his revisions are matters of considerable interest.

Some of these listed works will be better known for their Arthurian content than others. The second redaction of *The Journey through Wales* contains the curious story of Meilyr, the soothsayer of Caerleon-on-Usk, who had dealings with demons:

> When he was harassed beyond endurance by these unclean spirits, Saint John's Gospel was placed on his lap, and then they all vanished immediately, flying away like so many birds. If the Gospel was afterwards removed and the *History of the Kings of Britain* by Geoffrey of Monmouth [*Historia Britonum a Galfrido Arthuro tractata*] put there in its place, just to see what would happen, the demons would alight all over his body, and on the book, too, staying there longer than usual and being even more demanding.[13]

As St John's gospel is good for exorcizing demons (the beginning of that gospel being especially effective as demon-repellent, as we learn from another of Gerald's works[14]), so *The History of the Kings of Britain* by 'Geoffrey Arthur' attracts them. The story is as fantastical as anything invented by Geoffrey, and one wonders how the demons would have responded if the book placed on Meilyr's lap had been Gerald's own *Journey through Wales*.

Speculum ecclesiae and *De principis instructione* contain Gerald's account of the discovery of King Arthur and Queen Guinevere's tomb at Glastonbury abbey.[15] According to Gerald, Henry II had put the monks on the scent after hearing from a Welsh bard where Arthur lay buried; in 1191 they found Arthur and Guinevere buried in a hollow oak, conveniently marked with a cross inscribed with their names. Both the story of Meilyr and that of Glastonbury have been mulled over by critics and historians,[16] and I do not wish to spend more time on them. They are often taken to exemplify two distinct phases in the history of the reception of Geoffrey's British history. The first phase was one of disbelief: no one with any sense, least of all Gerald, took Geoffrey seriously, no one except for the Welsh and the Bretons who clung to the vain hope that Arthur would one day return to rid them of the English and the Normans. Then came the phase of belief: the discovery of Arthur's grave showed not only that he was dead (and so not returnable to the Welsh and the Bretons) but also real: 'Only now', writes John Gillingham, 'could the British

9 *Opera*, III, 99–373. Some extracts concerning Gerald's embassy to the Roman curia (1199–1200) were translated by H. E. Butler, *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis,* London 1937, reissued (with a guide to further reading by John Gillingham) as *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, Woodbridge 2005.

10 *Opera*, I, 425–7.

11 *Opera*, IV, 1–354.

12 Ed. Yves Lefèvre and R. B. C. Huygens, trans. Brian Dawson, University of Wales Board of Celtic Studies History and Law Series 27, Cardiff 1974.

13 *Opera*, VI, 58; trans. Thorpe, 117–18.

14 *Opera*, II, 129; trans. Hagen, 99: '[Scripture] is a good medicine for the laity and drives away ghosts, especially the beginning of the gospel according to John.'

15 *Opera*, IV, 47–51; VIII, 126–9; trans. Thorpe, in *Journey through Wales*, 281–8.

16 e.g. Siân Echard, *Arthurian Narrative in the Latin Tradition,* Cambridge 1998, 70–5; and Robert Rouse and Cory Rushton, *The Medieval Quest for Arthur,* Stroud 2005, 76–80.

history be expropriated and made politically useful to the kings of England.'[17] There is much truth in that position but some simplification also, for it strikes me that Gerald was ready from the first to believe in Geoffrey's history and to turn it to political advantage. To substantiate this impression, I would like to consider some of Gerald's forays into early British history, particularly his opinions about the prophet Merlin, which Arthurian scholars have rather neglected.[18]

Gerald's most startling pronouncement on the subject is that there were two prophets by that name, one Merlin Ambrosius and the other Merlin Silvester (alias Celidon). Gerald's theory complicates matters, but has the considerable merit of solving the niggling chronological problems inherent in Geoffrey's singular treatment of the prophet. In Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini* (*c.* 1150), Merlin recalls in the depths of the Celidonian forest how he once prophesied the future to King Vortigern. Vortigern reigned shortly after the arrival of the Saxons, *c.* 450 AD. Yet this same Merlin goes on to relate from personal memory what happened to Arthur and his successors Constantine and Conan, who 'killed the king [i.e. Constantine] and seized the territories over which he now exercises a weak and witless control' (lines 1133–5).[19] This 'now' is *c.* 600, so Merlin is impossibly old. Geoffrey's *History*, which explicitly refers to Merlin as *Merlinus qui et Ambrosius dicebatur*,[20] reproduces this chronological conundrum in miniature. As in *Vita Merlini*, Merlin begins as Vortigern's prophet, and it is therefore fitting that he never actually meets Arthur, who flourished two generations afterwards. Merlin's last recorded act in the *History* is to preside over Arthur's conception. Yet long after Arthur's death, an angelic voice informs Cadwallader 'that God did not want the Britons to rule over the island of Britain any longer, until the time came which Merlin had foretold to Arthur [*Arturo*]'.[21] Suddenly Merlin is no longer Vortigern's prophet but Arthur's. The chronological slippage evidently troubled scribes and adapters of Geoffrey's *History*, some of whom responded by omitting *Arturo*.[22] Gerald dealt with it by positing two Merlins:

> There were two Merlins. The one called Ambrosius, who thus had two names, prophesied when Vortigern was King. He was the son of an incubus and he was discovered in Carmarthen, which means Merlin's town, for it takes its name from the fact that he was found there. The second Merlin came from Scotland. He is called Celidonius because he prophesied in the Calidonian forest. He is also called Silvester, because once when he was fighting he looked up in the air and saw a terrible monster. He went mad as a result and fled to the forest where he passed the remainder of his life as a wild man of the woods. This second Merlin lived in the time of Arthur. He is said to have made more prophecies than his namesake.[23]

17 John Gillingham, 'The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*', *ANS* 13, 1991 for 1990, 99–118 at 103.

18 Two important exceptions are Julia C. Crick, 'The British Past and the Welsh Future: Gerald of Wales, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Arthur of Britain', *Celtica* 23, 1999, 60–75; and Barbara Lynn McCauley, 'Giraldus "Silvester" of Wales and his *Prophetic History of Ireland*: Merlin's Role in the *Expugnatio Hibernica*', *Quondam et Futurus* 3.4, 1993, 41–62.

19 *Life of Merlin*, ed. and trans. Basil Clarke, Cardiff 1973, 113.

20 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright, Woodbridge 2007, 140–1. All subsequent quotations are taken from this edition.

21 Ibid. 278–9.

22 See the variants listed in *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, II: The First Variant Version*, ed. Neil Wright, Cambridge 1988, 190.

23 *Itinerarium Kambriae*, *Opera*, VI, 133; trans. Thorpe, 192–3.

The modern solution to the inconsistencies in Geoffrey is to assume that he drew on different literary traditions which he did not quite manage to reconcile. From Nennius' *Historia Britonum*, Geoffrey took the figure of Ambrosius, a child prodigy who preaches to Vortigern. And Geoffrey fused that Ambrosius with the Celtic bard Myrddin, who in the earliest Merlin poetry takes refuge in the forest of Celyddon. Gerald recognized the contradictions but addressed them in a very different spirit: they showed to his mind, not that the legend as we have it is a confused amalgamation of different sources, but that history itself is confusing. There were two Merlins, not one, and this complication accounts for the contradictions in the historical record.

There is further evidence of Gerald's faith in British history and the prophet Merlin in *The Prophetic History*. In this work Gerald tells how Dermot, prince of Leinster, is forced into exile and travels to England and Wales to drum up support for an invasion of Ireland. Richard Fitzstephen, Gerald's uncle, sets off to Ireland, and more of Gerald's relatives follow. Jealous of their success, Henry II gets involved and sends his son John to keep the marcher lords under royal control. John is accompanied by various knights and clerics:

> One of these, who had been specially sent with John by his father, was that careful investigator of natural history who, having spent a period of two years in all in the island on this and on his previous visit, brought back with him, as the prize and reward for his industry, the materials for the *Book of Prophecy* and the *Topography*. Subsequently, on his return to Britain, he spent five years in sorting out and arranging this material, amid the preoccupations of the court, and completed the *Topography* after three years of work on it, and the *Prophetic History* after two years. Thus he furnished posterity with a work of literature, and his contemporaries with food for their envy.[24]

The 'careful investigator' is, of course, Gerald himself, ever modest, though even his presence could not help turn John's campaign into a success. Unlike Gerald's own superior race – who he says were part Anglo-Norman and part Trojan (through intermarriage with the Welsh, descendants of the Trojan refugee Brutus) – the Normans sent over with John were lazy and arrogant.[25] John de Courcy proved a noble exception. With a small band of knights he led the invasion of Ulaid:

> So with twenty-two knights and about three hundred others, this brave knight boldly made an assault on Ulaid, a part of Ireland hitherto unknown to English arms. Then was fulfilled that famous prophecy of Silvester of Celidon [*Tunc impletum est illud Celidonii Silvestris vaticinium*; β version: *Tunc impletum esse videtur illud Merlini Celidonii dictum, ut dici solet, quia nihil de Merlinorum dictis asserimus*]: 'A white knight, astride a white horse, bearing a device of birds on his shield, will be the first to enter Ulaid and overrun it with hostile intent.'[26]

'Silvester of Celidon' is Merlin, whose prophecy is fulfilled in the person of John de Courcy, who rode on a white horse, had fair hair, 'tending in fact towards white', and a coat of arms featuring heraldic eagles. Indeed, so many other things uttered by Merlin and other prophets bore fruit in John's deeds that he always carried with him, according to Gerald, a 'book of prophecies, which is written in Irish … as a kind of mirror of his own deeds'.[27]

24 *Expugnatio*, 228–9.
25 On Gerald's ethnic identifications and prejudices, see John Gillingham, ' "Slaves of the Normans"? Gerald de Barri and Regnal Solidarity in Early Thirteenth-Century England', in *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds*, ed. Pauline Stafford, Janet L. Nelson, and Jane Martindale, Manchester 2001, 160–71.
26 *Expugnatio*, 174–5.
27 Ibid. 176–7.

More examples of Gerald's deployment of prophecy occur when Henry II lands in Ireland and there receives the homage of the Irish princes. A plethora of riddles are meant to persuade us that this was bound to happen:

> Then was fulfilled that famous prophecy of Merlin Silvester: 'A fiery ball will rise in the East and, as it circles the sky, will engulf Ireland' [*Igneus ab euro globus ascendet et Hiberniam in circuitu devorabit*; β omits the entire sentence].[28]

And again three chapters later:

> So too the words of Merlin Silvester: 'The birds of the island will flock to his lantern, and the larger among them, with their wings ablaze, will fall to the ground and be caught' [*Ad eius lucernam aves insule convolabunt, et maiores in illis, alis accensis, corruent in capturam*] … Again, the commonly quoted prophecy of Merlin Ambrosius: 'The five parts will be reduced to one, and the sixth will overthrow the walls of Ireland' [β omits the prophecy of Merlin Silvester and qualifies the second, by Merlin Ambrosius: *Tunc impletum videtur usitatum illud et vulgatum, quia de veritate nihil assevero, Merlini Ambrosii vaticinium*].[29]

The prophecies that Gerald attributes to Merlin Ambrosius are invariably taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth; those attributed to Merlin Silvester are mostly drawn from a twelfth-century collection of prophecies known as *The Prophecy of the Eagle*, which circulated both in Welsh and in Latin and was often ascribed to Merlin.[30] Below is an extract from the Latin version which contains the specific prophecies concerning the 'fiery ball' and the 'birds of the island' as well as a number of others that will become important later:

> Ex delicto genitoris geniti delinquent in genitorem & precedens delictum fiet causa sequentium delictorum. Filii insurgent in parentem & ob sceleris uindictam in uentrem uiscera coniurabunt … & miro mutationis modo gladius a sceptro separabitur. Propter fratrum discordiam regnabit ex transuerso ueniens … In ultimus diebus albi draconis semen eius tripharíam spargetur: pars in apuliam tendens orientali gaza locupletabitur; pars in hyberniam descendens occidua temperie delectabitur; pars vero tercia in patria permanens uilis & uacua reperietur. Igneus ab euro globus ascendet & armoriam in circuitu deuorabit. Ad eius lucernam aues insule conuolabunt & majores in illis, alis accensis, corruent in capturam.[31]

> As a result of the father's transgression, the sons will transgress against the father and so the original sin will be the cause of subsequent ones. The sons will rebel against the father, and in order to avenge his wickedness the bowels will arise against the stomach … And by a strange mutation the sword will be separated from the sceptre. Because of the brothers' discord, one coming from the other side will reign. In the final days of the white dragon, his seed will be scattered three ways: one part will go to Apulia and will enrich himself with treasures of the East; one part will descend into Ireland and will be content with the mildness of the West; however, the third part will remain in his homeland and will be accounted worthless and useless. A fiery ball will rise in the East and, as it circles the sky, will engulf Brittany. The birds of the island will

28 Ibid. 92–3.
29 Ibid. 96–7.
30 For the history and circulation of these prophecies see Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'The Dark Dragon of the Normans: A Creation of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Stephen of Rouen, and Merlin Silvester', *Quondam et Futurus* 2, 1992, 1–19.
31 *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version*, ed. John Jay Parry, Cambridge MA 1937, 225–6. Parry's edition is based on three thirteenth-century manuscripts; I have modernized punctuation and silently inserted variants from BL, Arundel MS 409, which correspond most closely with Gerald's readings.

flock to his lantern, and the larger among them, with their wings ablaze, will fall to the ground and be caught.

This passage matches the prophecies of Merlin Silvester cited by Gerald word for word, except that in *The Prophecy of the Eagle* the land devoured by the fiery ball is not Ireland but Brittany. (The prophecy may be connected with Henry II's successful campaign in Brittany in 1169.) All the manuscripts collated by the editor J. J. Parry agree on this point. Gerald seems to have doctored the original prophecy to suit the occasion.

It will now also be clearer why Gerald called his book *The Prophetic History*. The title preferred by modern scholars, *The Conquest of Ireland*, represents Gerald's second choice: it is the title as it appears in the β version, where the two incipits of the α version referring to *Liber vaticinalis historia* are deleted, and where the original explicit, *Explicit liber secundus vaticinalis historie*, is replaced by *Explicit liber expugnacionis Hybernice*. The original title is, I fear, something of an embarrassment to historians, for it betrays the fact that the basic premise of Gerald's work is not what we would call 'historical' at all. Merlin's old prophecies, which are encountered at every turning point in *The Prophetic History*, already contain the future, so that the conquest of Ireland is not a chronological progression of events but, to borrow Walter Benjamin's phrase, a 'Messianic cessation of happening':[32] various incidents are taken out of their immediate historical context and then imagined as providing answers to the riddles that Merlin posed many centuries before. The legitimizing value of such 'restrospective' use of prophecy has recently been illuminated by Paul Strohm, who draws attention to the exploitation of political prophecies by the Lancastrian regime following the deposition of Richard II. One of the ways in which Henry IV's usurpation of the throne could be justified was by insisting that it was meant to be. Endorsed by prophecy, the Lancastrians could represent themselves as 'fulfilling a venerable prophetic mandate'.[33] Gerald of Wales performs the same kind of ideological work for the Plantagenets. Merlin's prophecies show that Ireland was always meant to be conquered by Henry II. Or rather, to put Gerald's case in its entirety, Ireland was always destined to be *re*-possessed. For in *The Topography of Ireland*, dedicated to Henry II, Gerald had already used Geoffrey's *History* to argue that the English crown had an ancient right to Ireland. According to Geoffrey, Gurguint, the mythical king of Britain, had found a fleet of Spaniards sailing near the Orkneys in search of a land to live in; Gurguint gave them Ireland.[34] From this, writes Gerald, 'it is clear that Ireland can with some right be claimed by the kings of Britain, even though the claim be from olden times'.[35]

Gerald's relationship to Merlin becomes even more interesting and involved when we consider some questions of fact: (1) When and where did Gerald get hold of the prophecies of Merlin that he deploys in *The Prophetic History*? (2) Why did he never deliver on his promise, preserved only in the first recension, that he would end *The Prophetic History* with a third book containing a collection of Merlin's prophecies accompanied by Gerald's glosses on them?

Gerald was clever enough to provide his own answer to the first of these questions.

32 Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, London 1970, 255–66 at 265.

33 *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399–1422,* New Haven CT 1998, 12.

34 *History of the Kings of Britain*, 60–1.

35 *Opera*, V, 148–9; trans. O'Meara, 99.

In *The Journey through Wales* he tells us what happened to him when he was on his way to Bangor:

> That night, which was the eve of Palm Sunday [9 April 1188], we slept at Nefyn. There I myself, archdeacon of St David's, discovered the works of Merlin Silvester [*Ubi Merlinum Silvestrem … invenit*; 3rd recension: *dicitur invenisse*], which I had long been looking for.[36]

In the α version of *The Prophetic History* Gerald embroidered the story. This version contains the opening pages of a third book (omitted in β) where Gerald remarks that, while the prophecies of Merlin Ambrosius have long been known in Latin translation (he thinks of course of Geoffrey of Monmouth), there was another Merlin, named Silvester, whose prophecies exist as yet only in the barbarous language of the Britons. Gerald, on learning that Henry II 'urgently required an exposition of the prophecies of that Merlin', made it his business to track down a copy, and discovered one in a remote corner of Wales. Assisted by experts in the Welsh language, he not only translated it but prepared a critical edition, excising the spurious interpolations of later bards:

> But in this no less than in other spheres the jealous profession of the bards has falsified nature, and added to the genuine prophecies many of their own invention. Therefore all those in which the style suggests that of more modern writings have been rejected, and the rough and unvarnished simplicity of the older idiom has been carefully distinguished from the rest …[37]

Scott and Martin take the story at face value, but we surely need to be on our guard. The claim of a newly discovered British source had by Gerald's time become a *cause célèbre*, thanks to Geoffrey of Monmouth's claim that Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, had discovered in Wales a British book, which Geoffrey had translated into Latin. There is also a curious problem of chronology. Gerald claims he discovered Merlin Silvester's prophecies in 1188; as we have seen, they are largely based on *The Prophecy of the Eagle*. It is clear, however, that Gerald already knew of these prophecies and their fulfilment in 1187, when he wrote the first version of *The Topography of Ireland*, a copy of which he presented to Archbishop Baldwin at the beginning of their tour of Wales. The first recension of *The Topography* concludes with a passage addressed directly to Henry II:

> If you bid me, I shall attempt to describe the manner in which the Irish world has been added to your titles and triumphs … *how the princes of the West immediately flew to your command as little birds to a light*, when they were amazed and dazzled by the light of your coming, *how the entrails* as it were unnaturally and shamefully *conspired against the belly* …[38]

If this sounds familiar it is because Gerald is alluding to the same prophecies that he later deploys in *The Prophetic History*. Again they correspond with *The Prophecy of the Eagle*, and again they have been adapted to flatter Henry. Thus the entrails conspire against the belly not 'in order to avenge the father's wickedness' but 'unnaturally and shamefully'. I deduce from this that Gerald already knew Merlin Silvester's prophecies in 1187, more than a year before he allegedly 'discovered' them at Nefyn.

36 *Opera*, VI, 124; trans. Thorpe, 183.
37 *Expugnatio*, 256–7.
38 *Opera*, V, 190; trans. O'Meara, 124–5.

King Arthur had had Merlin Silvester as his prophet, and Gerald appears to have promoted himself to the post of King Henry II's prophet. This seems to be the implication of Gerald's address to Henry in his preface to *The Topography*, which is headed: *Illustri Anglorum regi Henrico secundo suus Siluester* [3rd recension: *suus Giraldus/Girardus*].[39] Presumably Gerald intended by this cognomen to associate himself with Merlin (just as Geoffrey of Monmouth's cognomen *Arthurus* may have signalled the latter's association with King Arthur). This association was evidently a point of pride for Gerald, who was not amused when his enemies used his name against him by construing it as a slur on his origins in the wilderness (*silva*) of Wales. In a letter to Geoffrey Fitzpeter, earl of Essex, Gerald put the record straight: 'I am not "Silvester" in the way that my adversaries allege, for I know myself to be at this time and place a "flatlander" [*campester*].' The *campa* are the fields of Oxford, from where Gerald sent the letter.[40]

I come now to the second and controversial question: what happened to the third book of *The Prophetic History*: why did Gerald abandon it? Henry II's death in 1189 must have been a setback for Gerald as he imagined himself in the role of his prophet and his interpreter of Merlin Silvester. *The Prophetic History*, which Gerald was then finishing, now had to be dedicated to Richard, who is still addressed in the preface as count of Poitou. Gerald must therefore have stopped his work in the interval between the death of one monarch (6 July 1189) and the coronation of another, Richard I (1 September 1189). Although Richard had already been appointed as Henry's successor, he had also pledged to take the cross, and left England on crusade in 1190. In this climate of uncertainty, prophecy took on a very different complexion. The use of retrospective prophecy to legitimize events that have already happened suits those in power, and this may have encouraged the Plantagenets to make Merlin their 'house prophet'.[41] But when the throne is empty, prophecy turns its face anxiously to the future and becomes disturbing. The beginning of Gerald's third book comes to an abrupt end:

> The Britons relate the story, and the ancient historians tell us, etc. But enough of this. For, wiser counsel having prevailed, the publication of the third book and the new interpretation of the prophecies must wait until the right time has arrived. For it is better that the truth should be suppressed and concealed for a time, even though it is in itself most useful, and indeed desirable, than that it should burst forth prematurely and perilously into the light of day, thereby offending those in power.[42]

Being a prophet at the wrong time is a risky business and Gerald seems to have thought better of it.

Even more tantalizing is the clean-up operation that Gerald undertook during the reign of King John, whom Gerald in *De principis instructione* (released *c.* 1217) was to describe as 'that dog and tyrant sprung from tyrants the most cruel and of all tyrants himself the most tyrannical'.[43] What first drew my attention to Gerald's programme of revision was Lewis Thorpe's note to a textual variant in Gerald's account of his discovery of Merlin's *Prophecies*: 'In Version III Gerald wrote

39 *Opera*, V, 20.

40 *De jure*, *Opera*, III, 206.

41 The phrase is Nicholas Vincent's, 'The Strange Case of the Missing Biographies: The Lives of the Plantagenet Kings of England, 1154–1272', in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton, Woodbridge 2006, 237–57 at 248.

42 *Expugnatio*, 256–7.

43 *Opera*, VIII, 328; trans. Stevenson, 114.

"dicitur invenisse"; in Versions I and II he had written "invenit". I do not understand the purpose of the change.'[44] The mystery deepens when we consider the changes he made in the β version of *The Prophetic History*. The date of this version is uncertain; we know it must pre-date 1218, since he refers to a corrected copy in a letter sent to the canons of Hereford that year. But he also makes reference to an emended edition in a letter of 1209 to King John in which he dedicates the work to the king. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin plausibly suggest that the emended version mentioned in this letter is in fact the β text.[45] In the β text he changed the original title *Vaticinalis historia* to *Expugnatio Hibernica*; he deleted the fragment of book III, introducing the prophecies of Merlin, together with his statement at the end of book II that such a book would follow. As we have already seen (above, pp. 93–4), he systematically excised Merlin's prophecies except for a few which he introduced with formulas of scepticism. Thus 'So is fulfilled the prophecy of Silvester of Celidon' (referring to John de Courcy's conquest) became 'So the saying of Merlin of Celidon seems to be fulfilled, or so it is often said, because we make no comments regarding Merlin's sayings'; and a later reference to Merlin Ambrosius, *Tunc impletum est illud Merlini Ambrosii*, was muted to *Tunc impletum esse videtur*. *The Topography of Ireland* shows similar patterns of revision: Gerald's reference to himself as 'your Silvester' becomes 'your Gerald'; and it is intriguing that Merlin Ambrosius' prophecy (taken from Geoffrey's *History*) of the lion's cub whose 'beginning will be weakened by uncertain desires but [whose] end shall ascend to heaven',[46] only enters *The Topography* after the third recension, where it is taken to refer to Prince John. Perhaps it was a later scribal addition, but the prophecy is entirely in Gerald's style, and the hope the prophecy holds out for John's future hardly implies a late addition. I think it more likely that the late manuscripts preserve an original reading which Gerald had earlier suppressed as best he could.

These changes and revisions form a consistent pattern of censorship and equivocation which strongly suggests Gerald did not wish to be a Silvester to King John. Robert Bartlett is right, I think, to suggest that Gerald's evasions may have been political in nature.[47] As he observes, Gerald had personal reasons to be nervous. His own nephew, Gerald claims in *Speculum duorum*, had duped him by reneging on an agreement by which Gerald would hand over to him the archdeaconry of Brecon in return for a share in its revenues; once installed as archdeacon, the nephew kept the proceeds for himself, and when Gerald threatened to expose him, he and his tutor copied in their notebooks all those passages in Gerald's writings that might get him into trouble. This made him fear that 'they would denounce us for treason [*maiestas*] to the powers temporal and ecclesiastical, as they have often threatened and still do'.[48] If genuine, these threats were made sometime between 1208 and 1214.

Another context that sheds light on Gerald's discomfort with prophecies is that King John, an obvious target for prophets of doom, became touchy about prophecies, which were wielded against him in political propaganda. A few examples of anti-John prophecies must suffice. The first is from the Anglo-Norman outlaw romance *Fouke le Fitz Waryn*, which concerns a young knight who tries to regain his patrimony, including his ancestral home of Whittington, which King John, 'who

44 Thorpe, 183 note 346.
45 *Expugnatio*, pp. lxxi–lxxiii.
46 *Opera*, V, 201; cf. *History of the Kings of Britain*, 148–9.
47 Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, 66–7.
48 *Speculum duorum*, 144–5.

the whole of his life was wicked, contrarious, and envious',[49] has given away to a Norman baron. The verse sections of *Fouke* are generally thought to go back to a thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman poem; one begins as follows:

> Merlin says that:
> In Great Britain
> A wolf shall come from the Blaunche Lande.
> Twelve sharp teeth shall he have,
> Six below and six above.
> He shall have such a fierce look,
> That he shall chase the Leopard
> From the Blaunche Lande,
> Such strength and great power shall he have.
> But now we know that Merlin
> Said this about Fouke Fitz Waryn;
> For each of you know well
> That in the time of King Arthur
> The place called Blaunche Lande
> Is now called Blauncheville [Whittington].[50]

The interpretation of this prophecy depends on heraldry: the wolf is Fouke, whose shield was indented; the leopard is John, whose shield had golden leopards. Ralph of Coggeshall reports in his chronicle (*c*. 1225) that many people used to say of John that he was the 'worthless and useless part' (*pars vilis et inanis*); as Lesley Coote has noted, the wording echoes the riddle from *The Prophecy of the Eagle* that 'the third part will remain in his homeland and will be accounted worthless and useless'.[51] Coote wonders whether Ralph knew the text or was merely reporting hearsay. I think he must have known it, for it was again on his mind when he reported John's disastrous loss of Normandy to the French: 'In this year, according to Merlin's prophecy, "The sword was separated from the sceptre", i.e. the duchy of Normandy from the realm of England.'[52] Again the source is *The Prophecy of the Eagle*: 'and by a strange kind of mutation, the sword will be separated from the sceptre. Because of the brothers' discord one coming from the other side will reign.' By this ruler 'coming from the other side', John's subjects might well have understood King Philip Augustus or his son Louis, who were serious contestants for the throne.

This prophesied arrival of a foreign ruler is worth remembering in connection with Ralph of Coggeshall's grim entry for the year 1213, when Philip was preparing his troops to invade England: 'Peter of Pontefract, who had prophesied that the king would one day no longer reign, was hanged on the king's own orders.'[53] The story of Peter of Pontefract is told more fully in the chronicles of Roger of Wendover and his successor Matthew Paris:

> In those days [1212] there lived in the province of York a hermit called Peter, who was called a sage because he had predicted the future to many. Amongst others, there was one thing he had seen after being touched by the spirit of prophecy, concerning King

[49] I cite the translation in *The Legend of Fulk Fitz-Warin*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66, 1875, 277–415 at 324. There is a modern edition of the Anglo-Norman text, *Fouke le Fitz Waryn*, ed. E. J. Hathaway and others, Anglo-Norman Text Society 26–8, Oxford 1975.

[50] Adapted from the translation in *Legend*, ed. Stevenson, 412.

[51] Lesley A. Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England*, York 2000, 63.

[52] Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66, 1875, 1–208 at 146.

[53] Ibid. 167.

> John of England, and he had said openly and publicly to all bystanders and all those willing to hear, that by Ascension Day next year John would be king no longer. This claim came to the king's attention and on his command Peter was led before him, and the king asked him whether on that day he would die or be deprived of his sole title to the crown in some other way. Peter replied: 'You should know for certain that you will not be king, and if I should be proved a liar you can do with me what you like.' To which the King replied, 'It shall be according to your word'. [John proceeds to imprison Peter in Corfe castle, and anxiously awaits the outcome of his prophecy.] The news quickly spread to the furthest reaches of the land, and almost all who heard it gave credence to his words, as if his prophecy had come from heaven. On top of this turmoil there were many barons in England who grumbled as the king abused their wives and daughters; others whom he had reduced to extreme poverty with unjust exactions, some whose parents and relatives he had exiled, appropriating for his own use their inheritances. Thus it came about that the king had as many enemies as he had magnates. So at that time, when they knew themselves to be released from their pledge of fidelity, they felt relieved, and if the story is to be believed they sent a letter to the king of France confirmed with each of their seals, that he should come to England where he would be received honourably and crowned.[54]

Regnabit ex transuerso ueniens: 'One coming from the other side will reign.' According to the chroniclers, Peter's prophecy had John seriously worried, but John survived the fateful Ascension Day, and because Peter had said he could do with him what he liked if the prophecy did not come true, John ordered him to be dragged through the streets of Warham by horses and then hanged.

Was the tale supposed to be a lesson not to believe in prophetic mumbo-jumbo? The chroniclers thought the opposite; as they note, on the eve of Ascension Day, John submitted to the pope, placing England and Ireland under his overlordship. Peter's prophecy had after all come true: John lost sovereignty, and both Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris conclude: 'If the events described above are construed subtly, it is demonstrable that the prophet did not lie.'[55]

In the reign of King John, prophecy was a dangerous game to play, and Gerald's programme of revision makes sense in this context, particularly given the likelihood that the β version of *The Conquest of Ireland* (as *The Prophetic History* was now called) was presented to John. Admittedly, not everyone has been convinced by Gerald's suggestion that it was fear 'of offending those in power' that held him back from publishing the third book of *The Prophetic History*. James Dimock found it hard to reconcile Gerald's apparent caution with his outspoken attack on King John in *De instructione principis*,[56] and his argument has more recently been taken up by Scott and Martin, who think it 'unlikely that the man who described John as *catulum tyrannicum* … would have felt any need to continue suppressing this third book'.[57] Yet the circumstances surrounding the publication of the last two books of *De instructione*, where that criticism is voiced, actually strengthen my case. Gerald delayed the publication of these books until John was dead, and in John's lifetime released only book I, a harmless Mirror for Princes, which like *The Prophetic History* breaks off with some dark words by Gerald implying that publication of the rest of the work would be unwise. Moreover, Dimock's alternative explanation, that Gerald came to realize that Merlin's prophecies were nonsense, is untenable, for in

54 Matthew of Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols, RS 57, 1872–83, II, 535; cf. Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Henry G. Hewlett, 3 vols, RS 84, 1886–9, II, 62–3.
55 *Chronica majora*, II, 547; *Flores historiarum*, II, 77.
56 *Opera*, V, p. xlv.
57 *Expugatio*, p. lxiii.

the last two books of *The Instruction of Princes* Gerald is back to his prophetic best. When referring to *The Conquest of Ireland* he is happy to revert to its original name, *The Prophetic History*.[58] The Constitutions of Clarendon, which extorted concessions from Thomas Becket and his allies, are presented as the fulfilment of 'that prophecy of Sylvester Merlin, "And the tongues of the bulls shall be cut off"'.[59] This same prophecy had earlier been revised by Gerald in the β version of *The Conquest of Ireland* to the weasel-worded 'so *seems to* be fulfilled'.[60] In *De instructione* Gerald threw caution to the wind and left out the qualification. If he had really come to doubt Merlin's prophetic powers it is odd that he regained his confidence in them once John was dead.

Gerald's unwavering faith in Merlin's prophecies is apparent, finally, in the use he made of them in the campaign that occupied him during the last decades of his life: his campaign to restore St David's to its 'ancient dignity' as an archbishopric. What does St David's have to do with Merlin? The answer lies in this prophecy by Merlin Ambrosius from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*: 'Religion will be destroyed again and archbishoprics will be displaced. London's honour will adorn Canterbury, and the seventh pastor of York [= Samson?] will dwell in the kingdom of Armorica [Brittany]. St David's will wear the pallium of Caerleon.'[61] This prophecy is obviously relevant to Geoffrey's later description of Dubricius as archbishop of Caerleon and primate of Britain; when Dubricius retired to become a hermit, 'his place was taken by the king's uncle David', and 'Archbishop Samson of Dol was replaced by Teliaus, a distinguished priest of Llandaff.'[62]

The vivid interest these remarks excited is comprehensible in the light of current controversies surrounding the ecclesiastical pecking order in England and Wales.[63] While England had two primates, of York and Canterbury, the Welsh Church (subject since the time of Henry I to the English) had none, and all its bishops were subject to the archbishop of Canterbury. At the time that Geoffrey was writing his history, both the bishops of Llandaff and St David's were arguing that their sees had once been archbishoprics. In the case of St David's the claim went even further: it had formerly been a metropolitan see, its archbishop answerable only to Rome. Because the hierarchical organization of the twelfth-century Church was a comparatively recent phenomenon, such claims to primacy or metropolitan status necessarily lacked genuine historical evidence. But where evidence did not exist, it could be fabricated, and Geoffrey's *History* offered Gerald considerable help. Encouraged by Merlin's prophecy, he travelled to Rome in 1199 to present his case to the pope, taking him back to the times when Britain had become Christian:

> So Britain was organized … in such a way that in the western part of this island now called 'Wales' (a misnomer, for it is more properly Kambria after Kamber, Brutus' son), Caerleon was the metropolitan see, with twelve suffragan bishops … Dubricius, archbishop of Caerleon, ceded the honour to David, who transferred the metropolitan

58 e.g. *Opera*, VIII, 159, 161; trans. Stevenson, 13–14.
59 *Opera*, VIII, 216; trans. Stevenson, 50.
60 *Expugnatio*, 218–19.
61 *History of the Kings of Britain*, 144–5.
62 Ibid. 208–15, quotations at 214–15.
63 My discussion relies heavily on Christopher Brooke, 'The Archbishops of St David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk', in Nora K. Chadwick and others, *Studies in the Early British Church*, Cambridge 1958, 201–42. See also his 'Geoffrey of Monmouth as a Historian', in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to C. R. Cheney on his 70th Birthday*, ed. C. N. L. Brooke and others, Cambridge 1976, 77–91; Michael Richter, *Giraldus Cambrensis: The Growth of the Welsh Nation,* Aberystwyth 1972, 23–58, 87–127; and Crick, 'British Past'.

> see to St David's, as foretold by our prophet Merlin long ago as follows: '*St David's will wear the pallium of Caerleon*.' Now, we had at St David's twenty-five archbishops in succession, of whom the first was David and the last Samson, who sailed to Brittany, taking the pallium with him.[64]

In all this madness readers will recognize the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The etymology of Kambria is his, and Gerald's claim that St David's was once a metropolitan see is supported with reference to the primacy of Dubricius. His successor David then transferred the pallium to St David's, thereby fulfilling Merlin's prophecy. To explain how St David's lost the pallium, Gerald needs Samson, who is mentioned as the archbishop of Dol in Geoffrey's *Historia* but who, according to Celtic tradition, had been a native of Wales.

Did anyone find Gerald's mythical history credible? Gerald's adversaries, the archbishop of Canterbury and his agents, dismissed Gerald's history of St David's as an outrageous fiction, leaving Gerald to retort that it was 'neither a fictional or frivolous story, nor a fable of Arthur as my opponents mockingly say, but an account supported by the truth'.[65] However, the papal response to Gerald's mythical history was more encouraging. The one objection the pope raised was how Samson could have been archbishop of St David's when it was common knowledge that he had been archbishop of York. Gerald faced the objection squarely: 'And Gerald replied: "No, with respect father, the chronicles of Dol confirm that this Samson was ours and not another's … The people of York have been misled by the identical name, for they too once had an archbishop called Samson." '[66] If the pope's response is genuine, he, too, may have been reading Geoffrey of Monmouth, for Samson's status as archbishop of York is duly recorded in Geoffrey's history, as are his flight from York and subsequent reappearance as archbishop of Dol. The fact that authorities contradicted each other – Geoffrey of Monmouth and the pope making Samson archbishop of York, the chronicles of Dol and Gerald making him archbishop of St David's – did not deter Gerald, for where authorities were in conflict, personalities could be multiplied. Just as there were two Merlins, so there were two Samsons, one of York, the other of St David's; and it was the second, not the first, who transferred the pallium to Dol. Again Gerald's response to contradictions in his historical theory was not to jettison it but to complicate it until the confusions of the present became explicable with reference to it.

In conclusion, Gerald was prepared to take Merlin and Geoffrey of Monmouth very seriously, at least when it suited him. Those who credit him with proto-modern scientific rigour have set much store by his dismissal of the legend that St Patrick banished the snakes from Ireland in *The Topography of Ireland*,[67] but it is worth noting that he recounts the same legend as if it were true in the *Gemma ecclesiastica*.[68] There are moments when it suits us to believe things and moments when it doesn't, and this applies to Gerald too. For this reason, his dig at Geoffrey's *History* in the story of Meilyr and the demons from *The Journey through Wales* is only superficially at odds with his reliance on it elsewhere. He knew Geoffrey was suspect, and in his *Retractions* he shrewdly refused to vouch for the truth of his own historical enquiries into early British history except for such details as were

64 *De jure*, *Opera*, III, 170–1.
65 *De invectionibus*, 167.
66 *De jure*, *Opera*, III, 166–7.
67 See e.g. U. T. Holmes, 'Gerald the Naturalist', *Speculum* 11, 1936, 110–21.
68 *Opera*, II, 161; trans. Hagen, 123.

based on Bede: 'All those things which happened a long time before the coming of the Saxons to Britain are based on popular repute and opinion rather than on the certainty of any proper history.'[69] In this grey area between fact and fiction belonged Geoffrey's *History*, Merlin's prophecies, the story of Gerald's discovery of them at Nefyn, and his mythical history of St David's. How firmly he believed in them is ultimately unknowable, but there is much evidence he found them believable.

69 *Opera*, I, 426.

THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF THE ABBEY OF TIRON: INSTITUTIONALIZING THE REFORM OF THE FOREST HERMITS

Kathleen Thompson

In a memorable section in his *Monastic Order in England* Dom David Knowles describes the 'ferment of new life' that was emerging in the western Church of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and reinvigorating the monastic tradition.[1] The 'new monasticism' took as its inspiration the poverty of the early Church. Dissatisfied with monastic observance as it was practised in the years after 1000, inspirational leaders abandoned the structured life of their communities, which was often encumbered by the administration of endowments and obligations to lordly patrons, in search of a more contemplative approach. In western France those leaders took to the forest, seeking a wilderness where they could live the apostolic life. Eventually three monastic orders developed from these communities: the Fontevraudines; the Savignacs of Normandy; and the Tironensians, whose mother house lay in the wooded county of the Perche to the west of Chartres.[2]

While the Fontevraudine and Savignac affiliations have been much discussed, Tiron has failed to attract historians. There is no major history of the order and the accounts of the foundation that have been given in general works rely heavily on the Life of the founder, Bernard, attributed to Geoffrey Grossus, a monk of Tiron.[3] This work has been very influential, whose memorable images include the hermits' life flowering like a second Egypt. Yet there are other contemporary sources for the early history of Tiron, including an account in Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* and a cartulary, and these sources present an opportunity to look at a charismatic foundation in succeeding generations. It is my purpose, therefore, to step back from the *Vita Bernardi*'s beguiling images of woodcraft and spirituality, and to look at the second and third generations at Tiron.

The first hundred years at Tiron are dominated by the personalities of two abbots, Bernard and William, the one a great charismatic leader, the other a long-lived administrator, organizer, and litigant. During these years donations flooded into the house, and papal confirmations act as the punctuation marks of its history. Innocent II's confirmation of 1133 mentions fourteen dependencies by name, while that of Eugenius III, issued only fourteen years later in 1147, names more than one hundred possessions. These cells were not only numerous but widespread. As might be expected there were concentrations in the lands surrounding the Perche, but others lay around Paris, in Brittany, Normandy, and Burgundy, and some twenty

1 I am grateful to Edmund King for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

2 Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000–1150,* London 1984; Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215,* Ithaca NY 1997.

3 *Vita Bernardi*, in *PL* 172, cols 1361–1446 [hereafter cited as *VBT*]. For the only modern work, Denis Guillemin, *Thiron, abbaye médiévale*, Montrouge 1999.

houses were founded south of the Loire. Tiron also held possessions in the British Isles from its earliest days, including an influential group of Scottish houses. As the twelfth century progressed, however, interest in the abbey waned and the rate of benefactions declined; its abbots become more and more obscure, and after Abbot Stephen they are little more than names.

One of the earliest commentators on the Tironensians, William of Malmesbury, writing in the mid 1120s, tells us that Tiron was 'more famous for the piety and number of its monks than for the quantity and brilliance of its riches', and the obituary recorded for Bernard at Chartres cathedral also refers to the number of monks who joined the community.[4] Certainly the speed with which Tiron was able to send out daughter houses implies that it experienced no difficulty in recruiting. Little of the original church at Tiron has survived, but the aisleless nave is remarkably large for its date, around 1160, and this would support the notion of a continuing large community throughout the twelfth century. Records survive in abundance of the donations made by those who wished to give themselves to the abbey, and there were some high-profile recruits too, such as Hugh, the illegitimate son of Count Theobald of Blois, and Bishop John of Glasgow, who tried to retire to Tiron in the 1130s and was ordered back to his see in the 1130s by a zealous papal legate.[5]

So the question that immediately faces us is: what was the attraction of the Tironensian order? Why should the successors of a rather stand-offish group of monks who fled to the wilderness to escape worldly distraction prove so successful? What exactly did they provide and to whom? Let us turn therefore to the surviving documentation related to Tiron, most of which was published by the archivist of the Eure-et-Loir, Lucien Merlet, in 1883.[6] There are 426 items in his publication, taken from the cartulary (AD Eure-et-Loir, MS H 1374, compiled in the 1160s), rent rolls, chirographs, and sundry other material covering the period up to 1669. It is a collection that is not without its flaws, but it is the essential printed source and a scan through its earliest acts is revealing.

The monks of Tiron interacted with the laity in much the same way as did other communities. They had an implicit mediatory role, providing prayers and the benefits of association. The act describing the foundation of the Tironensian priory of Châtaigniers, for example, tells us that the lord William Gouet, as the day of his death approached, wished to have the monks of Tiron as intercessors with God.[7] Drogo Brochart conceded property for a priory at Saint-Laurent des Coutures near Pithiviers on condition that he be included in the prayers at Tiron.[8] Sometimes the benefits might be related to the body, such as care of those wounded in battle.[9] When William of Fâtines lay dying he called Tironensian monks from Gué de l'Aunay to his bedside. In return for a generous gift William received the most lasting benefit

4 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, 788–9; *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, ed. A. Molinier and A. Longnon, 5 vols in 4, Paris 1902–23, II, 11: 'Et Bernardus, abbas de Tiro, qui ejusdem loci ecclesiam a fundamento construxit et multos ibidem monachos sub sanctitatis et religionis norma congregavit.'

5 On Hugh, Ruth Harwood Cline, 'Abbot Hugh: An Overlooked Brother of Henry I, Count of Champagne', *Catholic Historical Review* 93, 2007, 501–16; on the bishop, John of Hexham's continuation, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 298: 'Johannem Glasguensem episcopum, qui omisso episcopali officio apud Tironas monachatui se contradiderat, ex Apostolica auctoritate revocavit.'

6 *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron,* ed. Lucien Merlet, 2 vols, Chartres 1883 [hereafter cited as T1 or T2 with the page number].

7 T1: 26: 'monachos Tironenses apud Deum habere desiderans intercessores'.

8 T1: 183: 'tali conditione ut, permissa caritate L solidorum, in orationibus Tironis colligeretur'.

9 *The Register of the Abbey of St. Benet of Holme, 1020–1210*, ed. J. R. West, 2 vols, Norfolk Record Society 2–3, 1932, I, 195, for the care of Count Theobald of Blois's son Hugh; T1: 89, for the gifts of the wounded Andrew Cholet.

of association with a monastic community – burial within its confines.[10] On the day after his death his body was taken to the house, where it was buried in the monks' cloister, but not before Prior Raimbert had taken advantage of the funeral to capture the gift in writing in the presence of all the relatives and great men.

In order to secure these benefits property was conveyed to the community using the old rituals, such as placing a book,[11] knife,[12] or rod[13] on the altar, all of which would be familiar to the local elite from their dealings with their lords and other monastic communities.[14] Donors might be commemorated on the anniversary of their death, just as the founders of the priory of Oisème were recorded in the martyrology of Tiron, and the office might be said as it was for the brothers.[15] Even more elaborate arrangements were possible, such as Hugh of Le Puiset's cession of a measure of wine, which he directed to be given to the monks in the refectory after they had heard his obit.[16]

It is perhaps a little surprising that the successors to the forest-dwelling Bernard were good at establishing easy relations with the lords of the local countryside, but it is even more of a surprise to find the closeness of the relationship with the townspeople of Chartres. The monks maintained a small community in the city, which until the 1140s was led by Hubert Asinarius, and they built a chapel for worship there.[17] They were bequeathed urban property, such as the house on the street of the ironsmiths, which was later exchanged for that of Evrard the smith.[18] In 1121 Count Theobald of Blois-Chartres, the nephew of King Henry I of England, gave the monks the site for a mill in the city and also a dozen citizens of Chartres: a smith, a rope maker, a wine dealer, a fuller, a *clausarius*, and seven bakers.[19] It is tempting to suggest that the citizens procured Theobald's gift to the monks as a voluntary act of association to align themselves more closely with the monks.[20] It is worth noting in passing, too, that this relationship with the urban elite of Chartres was not exclusive, for Abbot William received a request from the burgesses of L'Aigle, seeking confraternity with the monks, and there were links, too, with the citizens of Le Mans.[21]

If our continuing glance at the twelfth-century acts in the Tiron cartulary supports William of Malmesbury on the attractiveness of the community across a range of social groups, it challenges him on the absence of 'riches', for it is clear that Tiron and its dependencies were indeed wealthy. Although the earliest surviving acts are few in number, they represent a substantial transfer of landed resources to the monks of Tiron.[22] Yet it was not simply landed wealth that was finding its way to the community. The monks were using cash to make counter-gifts: the donor of two ploughlands, Gerard Ensachelana, for example, received 50 *solidi* 'de caritate',

10 T2: 4.
11 T1: 157.
12 T1: 151–2, 233, 248.
13 T1: 197.
14 Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050–1150,* Chapel Hill NC 1988, 31.
15 T1: 151, 218: 'concesserunt nobis ut scribamur in martirologio Tironensis ecclesie post mortem nostram, ego et uxore [*sic*] mea, et ut pro nobis officium sicut pro suis fratribus agerent'.
16 T1: 128.
17 T2: 3, for Hubert as prior. T1: 44, 64, 73–4, 148, 190, 193, 195, 228, 251; T2: 5, 31.
18 T1: 44.
19 T1: 64–5.
20 T2: 5.
21 T1: 91; T2: 18.
22 T1: 13–24.

while Joslen fitz Fulcher sold the monks meadowland on the river Huisne for £4 dunois.[23] This access to ready cash might seem surprising, particularly when taking into account the vignette in the *Vita Bernardi* in which Bernard chides a disciple for taking money on a journey.[24] Yet the cartulary shows that the monks were very willing to accept it, and there was a treasurer, the *camerarius* Isembard, to do so from at least the 1120s.[25] They received money in the form of rents, such as 20 *solidi* from the holdings of Andrew of Baudemont, the count of Blois's steward,[26] and from the proceeds of seigneurial exactions: Guy of Rochefort gave an annual 10 *solidi* from a toll levied at Ablis (Seine-et-Oise, cant. Dourdan) and Theobald of Blois 5 *solidi* from the gate at Blois.[27] Of the £4 received by Ralph of Saint-Chéron for his concession to the monks in the 1130s, 40 *solidi* was in chartrain money and 40 *solidi* in that of Melun, reflecting the varied monies derived from the monks' widespread properties.[28]

In addition the monks received valuable privileges from lay rulers: Henry I of England, Count Fulk of Anjou, Count Rotrou of the Perche, Waleran, count of Meulan, and his brother Robert, earl of Leicester, all exempted them from tolls and exactions, and the monks were by no means passive recipients of this largesse.[29] They made their resources work for them. Not only did the monks buy property, as we have seen, but there is a surprising number of loans recorded in the cartulary.[30] Many of them were made to those who wished to go to Jerusalem, like Hugh of Lièvreville and his kinsman, who pledged their lands for £10 chartrain. Hugh already owed the monks 20 *solidi* and that was taken into account.[31] When it suited them the monks borrowed as well: Ansold fitz Godeschalk lent Abbot William £22 chartrain to buy land.[32]

These easy relations with local lords and the urban elite, together with the acquisition of wealth, seem to run contrary to the pursuit of apostolic poverty and withdrawal from the distractions of the world that are usually taken as the defining characteristics of the monastic orders founded by the hermits of the forest. Yet we can find this rapid influx of lay largesse from the very earliest days of the community. While the *Vita Bernardi* makes much of Bernard welcoming the poverty of the endowment at Tiron, which he represents to his monks as more conducive to a challenging monastic regime, the reality as demonstrated in the cartulary is rather different.[33] Rotrou of the Perche, for example, declares himself so pleased that the monks had settled at Tiron that he made over the entire rent roll of nearby Ferrières, along with sundry other property, including agricultural holdings, gardens, and vines.[34]

Abbot Bernard was in fact very adept at handling the princes of this world, and his capacity for what would today be described as 'networking' emerges quite clearly. King Louis VI of France, for example, was interested from the earliest

23 T1: 19, 56.
24 *VBT*, col. 1384.
25 T1: 71; T2: 28.
26 T1: 92.
27 T1: 19, 40.
28 T1: 252.
29 T1: 75, 63, 31–2, 76–7, 162–3.
30 T1: 124, 145.
31 T1: 106–7.
32 T1: 150.
33 *VBT*, col. 1409.
34 T1: 125–6: 'super adventu ipsorum exultatione non modica repletus, dedi eis'.

days.[35] He was drawn into the patronage network through the Rochefort-Garlande connection, which was very influential in the early years of the reign and from which Louis had proposed taking a wife, Lucy, before he was made aware that this was an inappropriate alliance.[36] The Rocheforts made their own donations to Tiron in the lifetime of Abbot Bernard, and it is interesting to note, too, that the spurned Lucy seems to have taken her family's enthusiasm for the Tironensians with her when she eventually married Guichard of Beaujeu, for he was persuaded to found a Tironenisan abbey at Joug Dieu in Burgundy.[37] Although Louis's interest seems to have waned with the influence of the Garlandes, his early support must have been helpful.

Another influential early patron was David, the brother of Queen Edith-Matilda of England. Long before he became king of Scotland, he secured monks from Tiron, whom he established on his lands near the river Tweed at Selkirk.[38] The accepted date for his action is 1113, based on the evidence of Symeon of Durham, but if we are to believe the chronicle of Melrose this may have happened even earlier, in 1109.[39] David took with him an abbot, Ralph, and his foundation remained at Selkirk until 1128 when it was moved to Kelso to be nearer the favourite residence of the now King David at Roxburgh. Kelso was, in its turn, the mother house of a series of Scottish foundations, including Kilwinning, Lesmahagow, Lindores, and Arbroath.[40]

There was an early connection with England too, established when William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, founded a Tironensian priory just outside Southampton at Hamble-le-Rice.[41] It was never a wealthy foundation, and Giffard also lost interest, for his later patronage inclined towards the Augustinians and at the very end of his life he was involved in the foundation of Waverley, the first Cistercian house in England. The date of Giffard's Tironensian foundation is unknown, since our evidence is provided by his successors' episcopal confirmations, but the most likely time for the bishop to have made contact with the Tironensians is during his exile from England, prior to his consecration in 1107.

The heroic age at Tiron ended with the death of the founder, Bernard of Abbeville, on 25 April 1116, and our information about his successor is fragmentary and difficult to interpret. The chronicle of Saint-Maixent in Poitou, which retained an interest in Abbot Bernard's activities long after he left his original house of Saint-

35 Louis VI provided the endowment for a priory at Cintry in the Loire valley, and gave the abbey the services of a freeman in 1129, perhaps in celebration of the coronation of his eldest son Philip, T1: 18, 127.

36 For the Rochefort-Garlande connection, A. Fliche, *Le Règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060 1108)*, Paris 1912, 320–6; E. Bournazel, *Le Gouvernement capétien au XIIe siècle, 1108–1180: structures sociales et mutations institutionnelles,* Paris 1975, 32–9. For an appraisal of Stephen of Garlande, Louis VI's chancellor, Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France,* London 1998, 55–7. For Lucy, see Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat,* ed. and trans. Richard Cusimano and John Moorhead, Washington DC 1992, 41–2.

37 T1: 17, for Rochefort gift; Orderic, VI, 156–7, for Lucy's marriage. No foundation act survives for Joug-Dieu, but it had been established by the time of the papal bull of 1147, T2: 62.

38 For a detailed consideration of the evidence, G. W. S. Barrow, 'Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians', in his *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century,* London 1973, 188–211 at 200–1; 2nd edn, Edinburgh 2003, 169–86 at 177–8.

39 *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 247; *The Chronicle of Melrose from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX in the British Museum*, ed. A. O. and M. O. Anderson, London 1936, 31. A new edition is in progress: *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition*, ed. and trans. Dauvit Broun and Julian Harrison.

40 *Liber S. Marie de Calchou: registrum cartarum abbacie Tironensis de Kelso, 1113–1567,* 2 vols, Bannatyne Club 82, Edinburgh 1846, I, pp. viii–ix.

41 M. J. Franklin, 'Giffard, William (d. 1129)', in online *ODNB*, article 10655.

Cyprien in Poitiers, tells us that he was succeeded by Hugh, a monk of the same house, and there is indeed an act by Countess Adela of Blois which names an Abbot Hugh.[42] As the countess herself entered the religious life at Marcigny in May 1120, Abbot Hugh must have been an early successor of Bernard.[43] An alternative tradition is recorded in the chronicle of Melrose, however, which tells us that Bernard was succeeded by Abbot Ralph, the head of Tiron's most senior daughter house at Selkirk.[44]

In itself the eldest daughter house of Tiron was not a surprising place to look for Bernard's successor. The party that been sent from Tiron to set up this house can only have been entrusted to a leading figure among Bernard's disciples, and the story of his subsequent succession to Tiron receives some support from the mortuary roll of Vitalis of Savigny, in which the monks of Tiron ask for prayers for their abbots, Bernard and Ralph.[45] If Abbot Ralph did succeed Bernard, however, he must have been short-lived for he does not appear in the cartulary, and the Melrose chronicle provides further information that Abbot Ralph was himself succeeded at Tiron by the same man who had succeeded him at Selkirk, Abbot William.

Is it possible to reconcile the two traditions? Perhaps we should see the monk William journeying from Tiron to Selkirk with the news that Abbot Ralph of Selkirk had been elected to succeed Bernard and that he, William, was the next abbot of Selkirk, chosen by the community at Tiron. Maybe Abbot Ralph set off to take up the leadership of the mother house, only to die *en route* or soon after arrival, thus making little mark on the records. If Abbot Hugh then took over at Tiron, he must have followed Ralph closely to the grave, leaving the field open at the next election for the recently appointed abbot of Selkirk, William. The deaths in rapid succession of Bernard, Hugh, and Ralph might well signal the passing of a generation at Tiron.

We know remarkably little of the man who returned to take up the rule of Tiron for more than thirty years and who represented the second generation of the community. Robert of Torigni tells us that Abbot William was a Poitevin, so it is likely that he had been one of the monks who had followed Abbot Bernard when he had left the abbey of Saint-Cyprien in Poitiers around the year 1100.[46] Since he lived on until at least the late 1140s, it seems likely that he was among the younger members of Bernard's following, and it may be that youth and good health were the reasons why he was initially chosen to go north to succeed Abbot Ralph at Selkirk.

Abbot William's earliest act seems to have been to procure a grant of papal protection from the newly elected Pope Calixtus II.[47] The privilege preserved in its entirety the property that had been given for the benefit of the community, reserving only the rights of the bishop of Chartres. The formulation may hark back to the later eleventh century, when the lands on which Tiron eventually stood had been hotly contested by the bishops of Chartres and the local lords of the Rotrou dynasty.[48] The grant makes explicit reference to both the abbot and the bishop: 'Therefore beloved son in Christ, Abbot William, concurring as much with your requests as with those

42 *La Chronique de Saint-Maixent, 751–1140*, ed. J. Verdon, Paris 1979, 186; Adela's gift, T1: 28–9.

43 Kimberly A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c. 1067–1137)*, Dublin 2007, 384.

44 *Chronicle of Melrose*, 31.

45 *Rouleaux des morts du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, ed. L. Delisle, Paris 1866, 323.

46 Robert of Torigni, *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel, suivie de divers opuscules historiques*, ed. L. Delisle, 2 vols, Rouen 1872–3, II, 188: 'Willermus Pictavensis, vir litteratus et admodum religiosus'.

47 T1: 36–7.

48 Orderic, II, 360–1. For settlement of a long-standing disagreement concerning Bois-Ruffin, T1: 155–7.

of our venerable brother, Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres'. Taken together, the formulation and the reference to both men suggest that the grant of the privilege marks the beginning of a useful working relationship between abbot and diocesan.

Bishop Geoffrey had some reason to be grateful to Tiron, for early in 1116 Abbot Bernard had lent his support to the election of Geoffrey of Lèves, a local man and member of the chapter, as the successor to the celebrated canonist Bishop Ivo of Chartres.[49] For the next thirty years Bishop Geoffrey took a keen interest in the abbey at Tiron. He and his brother, Goscelin of Lèves, supported the foundation of a Tironensian priory on the river Loir, adding to its donation from their own family property, and there were links of friendship between Tiron and the monks of his own family foundation, the abbey of Josaphat, just outside Chartres.[50] Geoffrey encouraged the community to write a life of its founder and was the recipient of its dedication.[51] As bishop, he conveyed to Tiron grants of churches and tithes, surrendered by local lords, and he was present on many of the great ceremonial occasions in the history of the house.[52]

Abbot William's administration began with a series of such great occasions. Perhaps he sought formal confirmation of rights and privileges that had originally only been granted verbally. Certainly the two most prominent local patrons, the cousins Geoffrey, viscount of Châteaudun, and Rotrou, count of the Perche, obliged. In 1119, with the approval of Count Theobald of Blois, Viscount Geoffrey granted a tithe of his property, which he and his wife formally placed on the altar at Tiron in the presence of Bishop Geoffrey, Abbot William, and a great gathering of local notables. Count Rotrou of the Perche, meanwhile, made a generous gift in the presence of the entire chapter and Bishop Geoffrey, which was perhaps intended to outshine his cousin's gift.[53]

One of William's first priorities as abbot seems to have been to define the relationship with the daughter houses that were proliferating on both sides of the Channel. At Selkirk he himself already had some experience of the problems of maintaining Tironensian standards at great distance from the mother house. He was therefore well placed to advise when the monks of another far-flung dependency, St Dogmael's in Wales, and their patron, Robert fitz Martin, requested an abbot for their community. The request was granted on condition that any daughter houses that were founded from the new abbey should also be subject to Tiron. Provision was made for the removal of an abbot who departed from the standards of the mother

49 Andrew of Fontevraud, second life of Robert of Arbrissel, in *Robert of Arbrissel: A Medieval Religious Life*, ed. and trans. Bruce L. Venarde, Washington DC 2003, 33. On Geoffrey's career, see Lindy Grant, 'Geoffrey of Lèves, Bishop of Chartres: "Famous Wheeler and Dealer in Secular Business"', in *Suger en question*: *regards croisés sur Saint-Denis*, ed. Rolf Grosse, Pariser Historische Studien 68, Munich 2004, 45–56; and eadem, 'Arnulf's Mentor: Geoffrey of Lèves, Bishop of Chartres', in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow,* ed. David Bates, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton, Woodbridge 2006, 173–84.

50 T1: 70–2; *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, ed. Ch. Métais, 2 vols, Chartres 1912, I, 118, 385; II, 258, 330.

51 *VBT*, col. 1367.

52 For grants of churches and tithes, T1: 82, 226–7 (Marolles); T1: 86 (Brunelles); T1: 187 (Saint-Lubin-des-Cinq-Fonts); T1: 100–1 (Argenvilliers); T1: 162 (Soizé); T1: 254 (Coulonges). For ceremonial, T1: 26 (consecration of the cemetery at Châtaigniers); T1: 206–7 (gifts of Ursio of Fréteval); T1: 28–9 (gift of Countess Adela of Blois); T1: 32–5 (gift of Ivo of Courville); T1: 37–8 (gift of Viscount Geoffrey of Châteaudun); T1: 39–40 (gift of Rotrou of the Perche); and T1: 127–8 (gift of Hugh of Le Puiset). For presence at death-bed gifts, T2: 59 (Ursio of Fréteval); T2: 38–40 (Viscount Geoffrey of Châteaudun). For acts involving La Madeleine of Châteaudun, T1: 200–1, 208–11.

53 T1: 37–40.

house, and new abbots were to be chosen by the mother house, to which they should swear obedience at Tiron itself.[54]

So far we have seen two lords, Earl David and Robert fitz Martin, seeking monks for their new foundations, and the *Vita Bernardi* emphasizes their success. The cartulary, on the other hand, hints at the practicalities that underpinned that success, suggesting that a substantial endowment had to be forthcoming before Tiron was persuaded to let monks go. In the early days these arrangements seem rarely to have been formally recorded, although they may have been carefully negotiated. There are, however, some longish narrative acts in the cartulary which recount the process *post hoc*. The story of the foundation of the priory at Saint-Sulpice-en-Pail, near Villaines-la-Juhel in the Mayenne, for example, began in the abbacy of Bernard. At that time a monk, Geoffrey, was left in charge of the property that Tiron had acquired there. Geoffrey was succeeded by another monk, William, who, during a visit to the priory by Abbot Bernard, had managed to procure further concessions from the local lord. These events were only formally recorded, however, during a visit by Abbot William many years later, and one wonders whether the monk and abbot were the same man and whether Saint-Sulpice had been Abbot William's earliest charge.[55]

With the passing of time, the reputation of the monks of Tiron grew. In 1120 Girbert, bishop of Paris, called the monks of Tiron into his diocese, declaring them to be energetic exponents of the monastic profession (*monastici ordinis strenuos imitatores*), and he gave them the church that lay in the wood of Jardy.[56] At a point before the mid 1120s some monks had been sent to Asnières at the request of the great Angevin lord Girard of Montreuil-Bellay. They had prospered in the deserted place to which they had been sent, and such was their reputation that a formal request was made by Bishop Vulgrin of Angers for an abbot for that community too. The terms were clearly laid out: that the abbey should always belong to Tiron, and that the mother house should have the right of appointing the abbot, over whom it would maintain discipline, leaving the bishops of Angers only with the right to consecrate him.[57] At the end of our period we can see the process at work in an act preserved in the cartulary in which Hamelin, bishop of Le Mans, was begged by the humble flock of monks at the abbey of Gué de l'Aunay to consecrate brother Warin, whom the community at Tiron had chosen as their abbot.[58] The heads of the distant communities were to gather every three years at Pentecost, while the others came annually, and there are references in the cartulary to acts done in the full chapter (*in plenario capitulo*).[59]

The Tironensians had several models for their congregation: the Cluniacs, with their particular association with the papacy and the pre-eminent power of the abbot at Cluny, are the most obvious. Yet there were lessons to be learned from the association of priories and small dependencies that were tied to Marmoutier and from the similar network centred on the abbey of Chaise-Dieu in the Auvergne, another house that had increased its patrimony by financing crusaders.[60] Abbot Bernard may

54 T1: 49–51; F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066–1349,* Cardiff 1977, 19.
55 T2: 23–6.
56 T1: 51–3.
57 T1: 121, 131–4.
58 T2: 112.
59 T1: 39, 128.
60 Odile Gantier, 'Recherches sur les possessions et les prieurés de l'abbaye de Marmoutier du X^e^ au XIII^e^ siècle', *Revue Mabillon* 53, 1963, 93–110, 161–7 ; and Pierre-Roger Gaussin, *L'Abbaye de la Chaise-Dieu, 1043–1518,* Paris 1962.

well have taken ideas from the latter association, since his first abbot, Reginald of Saint-Cyprien of Poitiers, had been a monk at Chaise-Dieu. In addition to the regular gatherings of the abbots at Tiron, the monks also seem to have travelled between the houses: an act in favour of the Tironensian foundation at Gué de l'Aunay was witnessed by the cantor of Tiron and the prior of another Tironensian community at La Roussière, while the presence of two Tironensian monks among the company that disembarked from the White Ship in November 1120 indicates both the community's closeness to royal circles and the mobility of its members.[61]

The new foundations continued throughout the 1120s and 1130s with a particular concentration of activity in the Anglo-Norman realm. King Henry I's dateable acts in favour of Tiron are confirmations of the grants by his subjects, but he also gave the monks 15 silver marks from the treasury at Winchester for their footwear,[62] a general exemption from tolls and customs,[63] and, if we are to believe Robert of Torigni, he built the dormitory at Tiron.[64] He approved the elevation of the community at St Dogmael's into an abbey in 1120 and as the decade progressed he supported Adam of Port's foundation of a house at Andwell in Hampshire, exchanging part of the endowment for royal demesne.[65] There was a Tironensian house in Normandy at Germonville as early as 1115,[66] and in 1133 Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, notified the founding of a community at Bacqueville at the request of William Martel.[67] The archbishop, although himself a professed Cluniac, developed a warm interest in the Tironensian congregation and wrote the life of St Adjutor, a Tironensian hermit, at the request of the monks.[68]

Abbot William remained at the head of the community until at least 1147. He was an active abbot and energetic litigant. Property was bought,[69] sold,[70] and exchanged,[71] and lawsuits were pursued.[72] Abbot William's energy is demonstrated in his willingness to travel: we have already seen him at Saint-Sulpice-en-Pail on the Breton border, and he travelled to the Cluniac house at Pithiviers, where a dispute involving the local Tironensian priory was heard.[73] Robert of Torigni describes him as a *vir literatus*, which may imply a willingness to use his letters and a flair for administration rather than a dedication to scholarship.[74] There is a sense of a well

61 T2: 4; Orderic, VI, 296–7, for the White Ship.

62 T1: 43.

63 T1: 75.

64 Robert of Torigni's interpolations, in *Jumièges,* II, 254–5.

65 T1: 49, for Henry's act elevating St Dogmael's. For Henry's act for Andwell, *Regesta II*, no. 1875. See also W. H. Gunner, 'An Account of the Alien Priory of Andwell or Enedewell in Hampshire', *Archaeological Journal* 9, 1852, 246–61.

66 T1: 27–8. The act is witnessed by Count Robert of Meulan who died on 5 June 1118 and was made on the day that the barons of Normandy became the men of the king's son, probably in 1115.

67 T1: 203.

68 Hugh of Amiens, 'Vita sancti Adjutoris monachi Tironensis', *PL* 192, cols 1345–52 at 1345.

69 T1: 56, 73, 150.

70 T1: 45.

71 T1: 44; T2: 30.

72 T1: 96, 155; *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, ed. P. Barret, Mortagne 1894, no. 166.

73 T1: 184: 'apud Peveirs, in claustro cujusdam Cluniacensis obediencie presente Guillermo tunc Tironii abbate, cum tribus suis monachis Philippo et Petro, Osberto Culture priore, circumsedente etiam, cum ipsius loci monachis, clericorum pariter et laicorum grandi multitudine'. He is also known to have been at Tournan and at Chartres at the death bed of Viscount Geoffrey of Châteaudun, T1: 198; T2: 39.

74 Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, II, 188.

run scriptorium operating during his abbacy,[75] and, under his rule, two more papal bulls were secured in 1133 and 1147.[76] Long-running uncertainties were resolved, like the respective rights of the Cluniacs and Tironensians near the priory of Loir,[77] and the precise intentions of one Robert Judas who had made the same gift to both the Cluniacs and the Tironensians before he left to fight in Spain.[78]

In 1138 the monks received one of their most lucrative assets from Antelme of Groslay, an obscure lord of whom the Tironensian records make no further mention. The grant, which was confirmed by King Louis himself, related to a parcel of land in Paris, where the monks later built the Hôtel de Tiron.[79] As the 1140s progressed, however, new personnel emerged, such as Prior Philip and the cellarer, Stephen.[80] While new foundations continued to be made during this period, there is no sign of the involvement of the mother house at Tiron in the act of foundation for Montargis in Normandy in 1149.[81] Nor was there in 1145 when William Paynel founded a new house at Hambye in Lower Normandy with Tironensian monks, and no record of this foundation ever found its way into the cartulary at Tiron.[82] In England the priory of the Holy Cross was founded on the Isle of Wight in the 1140s, but again there is no record among the archives at Tiron.[83] There are signs, too, that the community at Tiron was now regarded as established, no longer the cutting-edge foundation that it had once been; the monks were now likely to be the donors themselves, and Count Theobald of Blois prevailed on them, for example, to give up property for the Hôtel-Dieu at Châteaudun.[84] In 1169 the abbot was drawn into Henry II's conflict with Becket and provided advice to the king, alongside a number of bishops and abbots of important houses.[85]

With the abbacy of Stephen, who succeeded Abbot William, we reach the third generation at Tiron and what was probably a period of consolidation. Stephen, who first appears when there was a little flurry of Breton benefactions, may well have been the cellarer, a post which would have been an excellent preparation for the administration of Tiron's widespread properties.[86] He was certainly the first abbot who is recorded as using an abbatial seal.[87] Abbot Stephen and his librarian can be glimpsed briefly at the community's house in Mortagne in the 1160s, when Warin of Auteuil took the habit.[88] The office of librarian or *armarius* developed from that of cantor, since the cantor looked after the community's service books, as well as

75 T1: 45, 224–6. Note, too, the certified copy of the bull of Innocent II that was sent to the English priory of Hamble-le-Rice, *Winchester College Muniments: A Descriptive List,* comp. Sheila Himsworth, 3 vols, Chichester 1976–84, II, 422, no. 10624a.

76 T1: 201–3; T2: 60–3.

77 T1: 58–9.

78 T1: 139–40.

79 T1: 247; for the later history of Tiron's lands in Paris, Youri Carbonnier, 'Les Biens de l'abbaye de Thiron à Paris: état des lieux aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles', *Cahiers Percherons*, 2004.4, 1–20.

80 Philip the monk, T1: 59, 79, 184; Philip of Nonancourt, T2: 28; Philip the priest, T2: 81; Prior Philip, T2: 34, 39. For Stephen the cellarer, T1: 107, 157, 188; T2: 7, 39, 80–1. In 1141 the prior was William and the cellarer Fulk, T2: 27.

81 T2: 70.

82 Delisle, *Recueil*, I, 141; II, 132.

83 *Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon, 1090–1217,* ed. Robert Bearman, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series 37, 1994, pp. 70–1. For an earlier date of *c.* 1120, S. F. Hockey, *Quarr Abbey and its Lands, 1132–1631,* Leicester 1970, 4.

84 T2: 49.

85 Delisle, *Recueil*, I, 436.

86 T2: 87, 90.

87 T2: 96–7.

88 T2: 91.

being responsible for recording the names of new recruits.[89] It seems not unlikely therefore that this librarian was responsible too for the drafting of the community's cartulary, which dates from around 1160, and indeed it may not be too fanciful to see in Geoffrey the *armarius* the best candidate for Geoffrey Grossus, author of the *Vita Bernardi*.

The house received three confirmations during the relatively short period of Alexander III's pontificate (1159–81), when it had received only three in the previous fifty years, but there was no longer a flood of new benefactions.[90] One of the papal confirmations makes explicit the subordinate relationship of the daughter houses of Kelso, St Dogmael's, Gué de l'Aunay, Le Tronchet, Bois Aubry, Asnières, and Joug Dieu, and if such a papal reinforcement had proved necessary, then we must suspect challenges to the ties that bound the congregation.[91] In 1176 the Chronicle of Melrose tells us that there was a dispute between Kelso and Abbot Walter of Tiron, which again suggests growing independence among the Scottish houses.[92] New communities had been founded at Lesmahagow in 1144 and Kilwinning in 1162, and Tironensian monks occupied positions of importance. Bishop Arnald of St Andrews and Bishop Herbert of Glasgow had both been abbots of Kelso, but King Malcolm IV's confirmation of his grandfather's gift to Tiron was the last act of a Scottish king to favour Tiron directly.[93]

It is hard to find the narrative thread for the history of Tiron after the 1170s. *Gallia Christiana* tells us that there was an Abbot John, though I have not been able to find any evidence as yet. It is certain, however, that in 1189 Richard I of England was prevailed upon to renew his father and great-grandfather's gift of 20 marks of silver, perhaps at the request of his niece, Matilda of Saxony, and her new husband Geoffrey, count of the Perche, the grandson of the abbey's original patron, Rotrou.[94] By the 1190s Abbot Lambert was in office, but we know nothing more of him.[95] According to Lucien Merlet, the editor of the Tiron records, Countess Adelaide of Blois retired to Tiron after the death of her husband in 1191.[96] If this is so (Merlet does not cite his source), it points to some interesting connections. Adelaide was the second daughter of King Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine and thus the half-sister of both Richard I of England and Philip Augustus of France. Tiron was conveniently situated at the margins of both of her brothers' spheres of influence, and there was a further family connection in that her husband's half-brother Hugh had taken the habit at Tiron.[97] In retiring to Tiron, Adelaide would have followed the example of Countess Beatrix of the Perche and her daughter Juliana of L'Aigle, and indeed of

89 Margot E. Fassler, 'The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation', *Early Music History* 5, 1985, 29–51.

90 T2: 90, 92–3, 98–102.

91 T2: 92–3: 'in ipsis monasteriis, secundum Dei timorem et regulam beati Benedicti et instituiones ordinis vestri, abbates, sine contradictione qualibet, instituere valeatis, sicut hactenus noscitur observatum'.

92 *Chronicle of Melrose*, 41.

93 *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. D. E. R. Watt and N. F. Shead, Edinburgh 2001, 121; *The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots, 1153–1165, together with Scottish Royal Acts prior to 1153 not included in Sir Archibald Lawrie's 'Early Scottish Charters'*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow, Regesta Regum Scottorum 1, Edinburgh 1960, no. 223.

94 T2: 108, wrongly dated to 1188 by the editor. In September 1189, Richard was joined in England by his niece Matilda, countess of the Perche, Kathleen Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of the Perche, 1000–1226,* Woodbridge 2002, 111.

95 T2: 111.

96 T2: 115 note 2.

97 Robert of Torigni, *Chronique,* II, 346–7.

the Empress Matilda, who had such an association with Bec's priory at Notre-Dame du Pré in Rouen.[98] It might also account for the special letters of protection which Philip Augustus issued in April 1194 in which he asserts that the persons and the property of the monastery had been in the special care of his predecessors, but again there is some uncertainty about the source. Merlet accepts the act as genuine, but Berger and Delaborde, editors of the acts of Philip Augustus, regard it with suspicion.[99]

By the opening years of the thirteenth century, then, Tiron was a well established house. It had substantial endowments and links to kings and the aristocracy, and in 1205 it was led by Abbot Hervey. We know little, however, about the regular life that was followed there.[100] The *Vita Bernardi* tells us that Bernard adapted the liturgy to leave more time for the pursuit of the labour that was necessary to sustain the community in its hard physical environment.[101] This implies that the monks shared in the labour, and there is little in the early years to suggest *conversi*, but many of the land grants that are described in the Tiron cartulary involve rights over the local inhabitants,[102] so it appears that the monks soon had others to do the work for them. Later they were able to obtain most of their daily needs from produce in kind when they were given tithes.[103] There are passing mentions of life in the community. A surviving prayer to the founder suggests that a liturgy revering him as a saint developed, and there are a number of variants on his life which may have been used as part of the liturgical readings on his feast day.[104] There are acts which provide for the lighting of the church and we know that a lamp burned before the tomb of the founder, but we have no evidence for the veneration of relics other than Bernard's body.[105]

So it is that after considering the chronology of the first hundred years at Tiron we come back to our original question: what was the winning formula that underpinned the remarkable surge of lay interest for around forty years from the time of Abbot Bernard's arrival in the Perche? Although the monks were described by Abbot Bernier of Bonneval as ever lovers of poverty (*paupertatis semper amatores*), and Ivo of Courville says they lived *pauperrime* when they first arrived, the communities were rich in resources donated by the faithful.[106] In its articles of association with its daughter abbeys, Tiron legislated against any simony, warning against the pursuit of honour and surrender to avarice, while the cartulary makes it quite clear

98 *VBT*, col. 1416: 'Beatrix, ejus cognita sanctitate castrorum suorum habitationem deserens, Tyronii aedificatis aedibus, quoad vixit, deinceps habitavit, ibique ingentem basilicam, multis expensis pecuniis, fabricavit; cui ab hac vita decedenti Juliana ejus filia, maternae probitatis haeres, successit'. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English*, Oxford 1991, 151. For a discussion of such 'family vocations' connections, Leonie V. Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy, 1050–1300: Space, Gender and Social Pressure,* Woodbridge 2007, 135–44.

99 T2: 114. *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France,* I, ed. É. Berger, H.-F. Delaborde, and others, 6 vols, Paris 1916–2005, I, no. 468. John Gillingham, *Richard I,* London 1999, 248 and after, for the context.

100 T2: 120.

101 *VBT*, col. 1404.

102 T1: 66: 'totam terram de Monte-Allerii et homines in eadem terra manentes'.

103 T1: 168, for tithes of wool, lambs, and piglets. For a tithe of the lord's bread, T1: 83.

104 Bernard Beck, *Saint Bernard de Tiron: l'ermite, le moine et le monde,* Cormelles-le-Royal 1998, 472–4, 476–8; Thomas J. Heffernan, 'The Liturgy and the Literature of Saints' Lives', in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, Kalamazoo MI 2001, 73–105.

105 T1: 19, for Guy of Rochefort's grant of 10 *solidi* to light the church; T2: 15, for the lamp before Bernard's tomb.

106 T2: 16; T1: 170–1: 'quamvis omnino pauper nollet effici, intellexit esse implendum qui divino spiritu intimante'.

that the monks would not take a church or tithes direct from a lay donor, but insisted it should be surrendered to the bishop.[107] So the Tironensian conception of poverty seems to have related to the personal austerity of its monks rather than to institutional penury.

Neither can we look to the spirituality of Tiron for the answer to our question, since it seems little different from that of its contemporaries. Again, material on which to make a judgement is not plentiful, but there is perhaps a clue in the formula that is often used in the cartulary, that gifts are made to the Holy Saviour and the monks at Tiron or to God the Saviour and the monks of Tiron. It suggests an interest in Christ's role as an intercessor, and an act describing the benefactions of Alberic, lord of La Milesse near Le Mans, attributes Alberic's generosity to 'love of the passion of Christ', while the address clause of Baldwin of Villeflix's act of donation draws the attention of all the sons of the Church, washed by baptism and redeemed by the passion of Christ.[108] It is known that there was an altar of the crucified Christ at Tiron, and the dedication of the priory of Holy Cross at Newport on the Isle of Wight points in this direction, as does the act elevating Bois Aubry to the status of an abbey, which indicates that its patron acted for the honour and exaltation of the Holy Cross.[109]

So perhaps we need to return to William of Malmesbury's observation about the number of monks for the answer to our question. The cartulary is littered with references to those who gave themselves to the monastery, and Orderic Vitalis suggests that they followed many professions: 'joiners and blacksmiths, sculptors and goldsmiths, painters and masons, vine-dressers and husbandmen, and skilled artificers of many kinds'.[110] The social diversity of those who entered the house is borne out in the cartulary. Ansold Godeschalk was the son of two serfs, but he seems to have done well for himself, and when he joined the Tironensians was able to give his holdings at Oisème as the basis for a priory.[111] The prior of the Norman possession of La Troudière was Ralph the belt-maker, while William the mason and his wife gave half their house at Mortagne.[112] Both William and his wife are described as monks of the church of Tiron, and this was not unusual. William the smith and his wife Osanna similarly gave themselves and their property to Tiron.[113] There is even the example of Elisenda, nicknamed Pagana and described as a citizen of Le Mans, who was veiled and consecrated to Christ on her death bed.[114] So it would appear that the benefits of association with the monks had been extended both socially and across the sexes.

Hugh of Lièvreville tells us that he gave himself and all his property to Tiron because of the love extended to himself and his friends, that is his mother, his brother, and his sister, whom the monks had welcomed to the monastic body (*ad monachatum*), and the most vivid expression is perhaps that by Emma, the wife of Roger Alis, in an act for the English house of Hamble-le-Rice, which ends with the statement, 'For this gift the monks have received me as a sister, my sons as

107 T1: 50. For grants of churches, T1: 82, 226–7 (Marolles); T1: 86 (Brunelles); T1: 187 (Saint-Lubin-des-Cinq-Fonts); T1: 100–1 (Argenvilliers); T1: 193 (Crasville); T1: 254 (Coulonges).
108 T1: 66: 'amore passionis Jesu-Christi et intuitu pietatis'; T1: 168: 'Sciant omnes sancte matris ecclesie filii presentes et futuri per baptismum abluti, per passionem Christi redempti'.
109 T1: 172, 249.
110 Orderic, IV, 330–1.
111 T1: 148–9.
112 T1: 211, 165.
113 T1: 123.
114 T2: 18.

brothers, and all my kin, living or dead, into the favour (*beneficium*) of the Tironensian church'.[115] Maybe, therefore, it was the very inclusiveness of the order, a point picked up in the *Vita Bernardi*, that was responsible for Tiron's success.[116] Bernard may not have let everyone in, but he seems to have made the benefits of monasticism available to a broader group, including significant numbers of the newly emerging urban elite, thus prefiguring the friars by nearly a century.

So it would appear that Tiron's appeal lay not in the institutionalization of the forest hermits' poverty, of which there is little trace in the cartulary records of the twelfth century, but in the extension of the benefits of association. The outcomes of this activity are clear: Tiron appealed to a greater range of people who were encouraged to give themselves and their property to the community. While this approach increased Tiron's wealth, the social diversity also gave the community a greater pool of talent with which to exploit all the property that it was given. The mason from Mortagne would have been a valuable asset to a community building churches and conventual buildings, while the smith's talents were always welcome in medieval society – perhaps he made the spurs which formed the counter-gift for one donation to Tiron.[117]

The *vita* makes much of Bernard learning the skills of wood-turning in the forest, but the skills of the peasant and the agricultural entrepreneur were required to run Tiron and its daughters, and indeed the skills of the counting room were necessary to deal with the profits.[118] Of course, it is even possible that the lords of distant lands, like Robert fitz Martin in his bleak Welsh outpost and Earl David in the Lothians, wanted hard-working and skilled monks. Clearly they wanted the best monks that were available, and there is little doubt that the reputation of the Tironensians was high, spread in part perhaps by their close links with the episcopate, among which they found their early patrons. While the social and ecclesiastical networking of Abbots Bernard and William was important in giving Tiron a good start, however, the hard-headed and business-like burgesses of Chartres and other urban centres also had a part to play.

115 T1: 229, 232.

116 *VBT*, col. 1396: 'illudque quam maxime divinum oraculum recolens: Qui audit, dicat: Veni; uti erat diffusus charitate, coepit omnes intus introducere, et pauperes et ignobiles ad Deum trahere. Monachi vero tepentes et frigidi, plus de praesenti quam de futura vita solliciti, ex invidia coepere pluries resistere, dicentes possessionem monasterio, quae tot recipere posset, deesse.'

117 T1: 124.

118 *VBT*, col. 1382: 'spondetque quod eum in arte tornandi instruat, ferramentorum ipsius artis haeredem constituens, si post ejus obitum illum fore superstitem contingat: tales etenim gazas suis thesaurizabat successoribus'.

ALL ROADS LEAD TO CHARTRES: THE HOUSE OF BLOIS, THE PAPACY, AND THE ANGLO-NORMAN SUCCESSION OF 1135

Jean A. Truax

When Henry I died unexpectedly at Lyons-la-Forêt in 1135, Stephen of Blois dashed across the English Channel, gained control of the royal treasury, and had himself crowned king of England by the archbishop of Canterbury in Westminster abbey on 22 December.[1] All this he was able to do despite the fact that Archbishop William of Corbeil and the other lay and ecclesiastical magnates of the realm, including Stephen himself, had sworn solemn oaths to uphold the succession of Henry's daughter, the Empress Matilda.[2] Even more remarkably, Stephen obtained almost immediate confirmation of his accession from Pope Innocent II, a confirmation which was repeated in 1139 when the empress's adherents appeared in Rome to present her case to the pope in person.[3] Innocent's successors seem to have been less enthusiastic about Stephen's claim, but the next three popes all ordered that there should be 'no innovations' with respect to the crown of England.[4] It has usually been assumed that the sacred nature of the coronation itself made the popes reluctant to sanction the overthrow of a consecrated monarch, despite the oaths in support of Matilda's claim and subsequent conflicts such as the arrest of the bishops in 1139, the York election dispute, and Henry of Winchester's persistent and annoying attempts to become an archbishop.[5] This view, however, overlooks the ties of friend-

1 ASC 1135; Orderic, VI, 454–5; John of Worcester, III, 214–15; Huntingdon, 700–3; Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, cc. 14–16; *Gesta Stephani*, 4–13; John of Hexham, *Simeonis historia regum continuata per Johannes Hagustaldensem*, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 284–332 at 286–7; Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani et de bello standardii*, in *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, III, 139–78 at 144–5; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, IV, 81–315 at 127.

2 ASC 1127 [= 1126]; Orderic, VI, 518–19; Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, cc. 3–5, 10; *Gesta Stephani*, 10–13; Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani*, 145; John of Worcester, III, 166–7, 176–81; *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 281–2; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, 127. For the oath at Northampton in 1131, see Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, 119.

3 For the confirmation by Innocent II see Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani*, 147–8; Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, c. 18; John of Hexham, *Historia*, 288. For accounts of the appeal to Rome in 1139 see John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, Oxford 1986, 83–5; *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, Cambridge 1967, nos. 26, 60–6.

4 John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, 83–6.

5 Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English*, Oxford 1991, 69; R. H. C. Davis, *King Stephen, 1135–1154*, 3rd edn, London 1990, 17–27; H. A. Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen, 1135–54: Anarchy in England*, London 1970, 30. For the York election dispute, William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, I, 55–7, 79–81; Bernard of Clairvaux, Epp. 235–6, 238–40, 252, 346–7, 353, 360, in *PL* 182, cols 422–5, 427–33, 452, 551–2, 556, 561–2. See Epp. 189–98, 201, 204, in *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. Bruno Scott James, London 1953, pp. 263–70, 274–6, which are not included in *PL*. These letters are discussed in C. H. Talbot, 'New Documents in the Case of Saint William of York', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10, 1950–2, 1–15. For the arrest of the bishops, see Huntingdon, 718–21; Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, cc. 25–9; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, 136; Orderic, VI, 530–5; *Gesta Stephani*, 72–81; John of Hexham,

ship and co-operation, spanning two generations, which united the house of Blois with the reform papacy. As Colin Morris wrote, 'friendship had the effect of creating a network all over Western Europe linking men of common mind … the existence of a "commonwealth of friendship" provided its members with both an inspiration and a basis for political action.'[6] Perhaps the reason that this relationship between the papacy and King Stephen's family has been largely overlooked is the fact that his mother, Countess Adela, and his brother, Count Theobald, were far more closely connected to the cause of ecclesiastical reform than was Stephen himself. This paper will document the ties which united the family of the counts of Blois and Chartres to this 'commonwealth of friendship' and will argue that this relationship proved crucial in allowing King Stephen to obtain and keep papal support for his claim to the English throne.

The connection of the house of Blois to the reform network began with Stephen's mother Adela, who forged ties of friendship with such leading ecclesiastics as Ivo of Chartres, Anselm of Canterbury, and Thurstan of York. Adela and her husband Count Stephen emerged as supporters of the great canonist Ivo of Chartres from the moment of his selection as bishop, an appointment which was disputed by Archbishop Richer of Sens. Count Stephen guaranteed Ivo's safety on a trip to Étampes to confront Richer, and this move established the couple not only as friends of their local bishop, but also as supporters of Urban II and the reform papacy.[7] Later, when Hugh of Le Puiset imprisoned the bishop because of his opposition to the adulterous marriage of King Philip I and Bertrade of Montfort, Adela and Stephen planned to free him by force.[8] The count and countess also undoubtedly delighted Bishop Ivo and the pope by renouncing their claims to diocesan revenues upon the death of a bishop within their territory.[9]

After Count Stephen departed on the First Crusade, the bishop loyally supported Adela as she governed the territories of Blois and Chartres on behalf of her young sons. Kimberly LoPrete has pointed out that Ivo's repromulgation of the peace statutes just as Stephen was leaving on crusade can be interpreted as an effort to help the countess at the beginning of her regency.[10] Ivo also supported the decision of Adela's court regarding the activities of her vassal Rotrou of Nogent, who built new fortifications on land claimed by Hugh of Le Puiset. The latter claimed crusader privilege to protect his alleged property and therefore involved the reform papacy in

Historia, 301; John of Worcester, III, 244–9. For Henry of Winchester, see Orderic, VI, 478–9; John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, 78–9.

6 Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200*, New York 1972, 104.

7 Ivo of Chartres, Epp. 8, 12, in *PL* 162, cols 18–21, 24–6; Urban II, Epp. 44–5, in *PL* 151, cols 325–7; Sally N. Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: A Study of Anselm's Correspondence with Women*, Turnhout 2002, 207–8; Kimberly A. LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois and Ivo of Chartres: Piety, Politics, and the Peace in the Diocese of Chartres', *ANS* 14, 1992 for 1991, 131–52 at 134–5; Lynn K. Barker, 'Ivo of Chartres and Anselm of Canterbury', *Anselm Studies* 2, 1988, 13–33 at 13.

8 Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 17, in *PL* 162, cols 29–31, which mentions Adela and Stephen's support, and Ep. 20, ibid. cols 33–4, which tells the clergy and laity of Chartres not to attempt to free him by force; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le gros*, ed. and trans. Henri Waquet, Paris 1929, 134–5. Vaughn, *Handmaidens*, 210; Kimberly A. LoPrete, 'The Anglo-Norman Card of Adela of Blois', *Albion* 22, 1990, 569–89 at 578; LoPrete, 'Adela and Ivo', 135; Barker, 'Ivo and Anselm', 13. For the rest of Ivo's correspondence about the king's marriage, see Epp. 13–15, 19, 21–2, 24, 28, 46–7, 79, 104, 141, in *PL* 162, cols 26–8, 32–6, 40–1, 58–9, 100–1, 122–3, 148.

9 *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, ed. E. de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet, 3 vols, Chartres 1862–5, I, 104–9; Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 94, in *PL* 162, col. 114; Vaughn, *Handmaidens*, 213–14; LoPrete, 'Adela and Ivo', 141–3.

10 LoPrete, 'Adela and Ivo', 136.

the dispute.[11] Adela and Ivo also worked together on a number of charitable projects, and LoPrete has compiled an impressive list of their joint endeavours on behalf of such foundations as the nunnery of Faremoutiers, the canons of Bourgmoyen, the canons at Saint-Martin-au-Val, a hermitage at Tiron, and a leprosarium in Chartres.[12] The case of the nunnery at Faremoutiers is particularly interesting because it shows the depth of Adela's own commitment to ecclesiastical reform. Ivo's letter reveals that it was Adela who brought the need for reform to his attention, rather than the reverse.[13] The case of Saint-Martin-au-Val is similar, since Ivo's letter promises to help Adela with her planned restoration of the monastery.[14]

While her husband fought in the Holy Land, Adela also seems to have established herself as a special friend of the crusaders, particularly Bohemond of Taranto. Ivo of Chartres intervened to make an advantageous marriage for the crusader possible, writing to Archbishop Hugh of Lyon to ask him to call a council at Soissons to declare the marriage of Constance, the daughter of the king of France, to Hugh of Troyes, null by reason of consanguinity.[15] When Bohemond returned home in 1106 to marry Constance, Countess Adela hosted the wedding reception at Chartres. The event was more than a grand social occasion, for the gathering of the kingdom's noblest and wealthiest magnates also provided the opportunity for recruitment and fund-raising to support the continued campaign in the Holy Land. Suger reported the presence of Bishop Bruno of Segni, whom Pope Paschal II had sent along with Bohemond, and noted his great success in enlisting new contributors while in France.[16] Orderic's account stated that Bohemond mounted the pulpit during the wedding feast itself to recount his deeds while on crusade and to urge his listeners to support his future ventures.[17] Interestingly, the event undoubtedly provided the basis of the falsehood recorded by the far-away chronicler Matthew of Edessa, who wrote that the countess had imprisoned Bohemond until he agreed to marry Adela herself.[18] Eadmer also mentioned that when Anselm met Bohemond at Rouen, the returning crusader wanted to present him with a most holy relic, some hairs of the Virgin Mary, which had been left at Chartres, 'where Bohemond's family and most of his goods were awaiting his return'.[19] Adela's reputation as a supporter of the crusade was so great that it was undamaged by her husband's desertion during the siege of Antioch. Orderic pictured the countess urging her husband 'between conjugal caresses' to return to the Holy Land.[20]

Adela also extended her support to reforming members of the Anglo-Norman episcopate who ran afoul of her own royal brothers. Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury twice endured exile because of his support of the reform papacy. His troubles with King William Rufus began as soon as Anselm was appointed archbishop. William the Conqueror and Archbishop Lanfranc, Anselm's predecessor at

11 Ivo of Chartres, Epp. 168–70, 173, in *PL* 162, cols 170–4, 176–7; Orderic, VI, 40–1, 396–9; LoPrete, 'Anglo-Norman Card', 581–2; LoPrete, 'Adela and Ivo', 148–50.

12 LoPrete, 'Adela and Ivo', 143–51.

13 Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 70, in *PL* 162, cols 89–90.

14 Ivo of Chartres, Addenda Ep. 2, in *PL* 162, cols 288–9.

15 Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 158, in *PL* 162, cols 163–4.

16 Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, 46–9.

17 Orderic, VI, 70–1.

18 *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, ed. and trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian, Lanham MD 1993, 194.

19 Eadmer, *HN*, 180.

20 Orderic, V, 324–5; Sharon Farmer, 'Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives', *Speculum* 61, 1986, 517–43 at 522–3.

Canterbury, had maintained strict neutrality between Pope Urban II and the antipope Clement III,[21] and William Rufus wanted to do the same. However, as abbot of Bec, Anselm had already sworn an oath to support Urban II.[22] As Sally Vaughn has pointed out, the early reform popes survived 'by the skin of their teeth', and England's tenuous adherence to Urban II depended solely upon Anselm's stubborn support.[23] Anselm finally went into exile in 1097 after Rufus refused to allow him to go to Rome to consult the pope about the king's repeated refusal to let Anselm hold an ecclesiastical council.[24] During this sad time in Anselm's life, the members of the reform network rallied around the archbishop. A former student at Bec,[25] Abbot John of Telese invited him to visit him at Liberi, where Anselm wrote his *Cur Deus homo.*[26] Countess Adela's second cousin, Archbishop Guy of Vienne, the future Pope Calixtus II, also invited Anselm to visit in 1099.[27]

Anselm remained on the Continent until the new king, Henry I, summoned him home shortly after his own accession in 1100. However, more trouble loomed on the horizon, because while he was in Rome, Anselm had attended a church council at which he heard in person the papal prohibition against lay investiture.[28] Thus, he soon incurred Henry I's wrath by refusing his own investiture and in turn declining to consecrate new bishops who accepted investiture from the king.[29] As these storm clouds gathered over the English Church, Anselm's friend John of Telese, who had in the meantime become Cardinal John of Tusculum, came to England in 1101 as one of two papal legates sent to help negotiate a truce between Henry I and Robert Curthose, to collect Peter's Pence, and to work with the reinstated Archbishop Anselm on ecclesiastical reform. It is significant that the cardinal visited Chartres, where he undoubtedly met with Adela and Bishop Ivo, on his way to England.[30] Finally, in 1103 Anselm again chose to go into exile, and in May he visited Countess Adela and Bishop Ivo at Chartres. Both advised him to delay his journey and avoid the hot Italian weather, so Anselm returned to Bec for the summer. He passed through Chartres again in August and finally reached Rome in October.[31] During one of his visits, he negotiated the settlement of a dispute between the countess and

21 Eadmer, *HN*, 10; F. Liebermann, 'Lanfranc and the Antipope', *EHR* 16, 1901, 328–32; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Enigma of Archbishop Lanfranc', *HSJ* 6, 1994, 129–52 at 133–6.

22 Eadmer, *HN*, 40.

23 Sally N. Vaughn, 'Anselm in Italy, 1097–1100', *ANS* 16, 1994 for 1993, 245–70 at 245.

24 Eadmer, *HN*, 79–93; Anselm, Ep. 206, in *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols, Edinburgh 1946–61 , IV, 99–101; Sally N. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent*, Berkeley CA 1987, 199–206.

25 Sally N. Vaughn, 'Lanfranc, Anselm and the School of Bec: In Search of the Students of Bec', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. Marc Anthony Meyer, London 1993, 155–81 at 156; Constant J. Mews, 'St Anselm, Roscelin and the See of Beauvais', in *Anselm, Aosta, Bec and Canterbury: Papers in Commemoration of the Nine Hundredth Anniversary of Anselm's Enthronement as Archbishop, 25 September 1093*, ed. D. E. Luscombe and G. R. Evans, Sheffield 1996, 106–19 at 106–9.

26 Anselm, Ep. 125, in *Opera*, III, 266–8; Eadmer, *HN*, 97; Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, in *The Life of St Anselm*, *Archbishop of Canterbury, by Eadmer*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern, Oxford 1972, 106 note 1; Vaughn, 'Anselm in Italy', 258; Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, 68.

27 Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 117; Vaughn, 'Anselm in Italy', 266.

28 Eadmer, *HN*, 114.

29 Ibid. 119–20, 131; Anselm, Epp. 218–20, 222–4, 227, 258–9, in *Opera*, IV, 120–30, 132, 170–1; John of Worcester, III, 102–5; Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, 214–15.

30 LoPrete, 'Anglo-Norman Card', 579; Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, 227–8, 236. See *Regesta II*, nos. 544, 547–8 for charters attested by John of Tusculum during his visit to England.

31 Eadmer, *HN*, 151; Anselm, Epp. 286–7, 294, 299, in *Opera*, IV, 205–7, 214–15, 219–21; Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, 258–9; Barker, 'Ivo and Anselm', 16.

the cathedral chapter at Chartres.[32] In 1104, Anselm wrote to John of Tusculum to warn him of Henry I's incursion into Normandy.[33]

The conflict between the archbishop and the king finally reached boiling point in 1105. Just as Henry I was in the midst of his campaign against his brother Robert Curthose for control of Normandy, Pope Paschal II excommunicated Count Robert of Meulan and the king's other councillors and threatened to do the same to Henry himself unless the king accepted the new prohibition against lay investiture.[34] The king was vulnerable at this exact moment because he had cast himself in the role of a saviour, coming to rescue the Norman Church from the neglect and abuse of the current duke, a position that would be difficult to maintain if he were excommunicated.[35] Anselm immediately journeyed north with the intention of performing the excommunication himself. However, while on his way he received a message from Adela, announcing that she was ill and asking him to come to her at Blois. When he arrived, Anselm found the countess well recovered, and so the two travelled on to Chartres together. Adela then arranged for Anselm and the king to meet at L'Aigle. At this critical meeting, the two men worked out their own tentative solution to the investiture controversy, pending papal approval: the king would give up investing prelates with the ring and the staff, the symbols of their ecclesiastical offices, but would still have a voice in elections and would receive the homage of bishops and abbots for the secular property that accompanied their positions in the Church.[36] How much credit Countess Adela should be given for the resolution of the investiture controversy is a matter of scholarly debate. Noting Bishop Ivo of Chartres's ideas regarding the distinction between the secular and religious functions of a bishop or abbot, and the friendship between the bishop and countess, A. L. Poole gave Adela herself credit for suggesting the compromise.[37] Norman Cantor disagreed, pointing out differences between Ivo's known writings on the subject and the final resolution of the question.[38] Lynn Barker has also sounded a note of caution, remarking that the idea of separating the spiritualities and temporalities of a bishop's position was not new, and can be seen in the trials of Odo of Bayeux and

32 Anselm, Ep. 340, in *Opera*, V, 278; LoPrete, 'Anglo-Norman Card', 581; LoPrete, 'Adela and Ivo', 147–8; Vaughn, *Handmaidens*, 207, 213–15.

33 Anselm, Ep. 339, in *Opera*, V, 277; Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, 283.

34 Eadmer, *HN*, 163; Uta-Renate Blumenthal, 'Some Notes on Papal Policies at Guastalla, 1106', *Studia Gratiana* 19, 1976, 59–77 at 67–8; *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Philip Jaffé, 2 vols, Leipzig 1885, I, no. 6029.

35 Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, 287–8.

36 Eadmer, *HN*, 164–6; Anselm, Ep. 388, in *Opera*, V, 331–2; Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, 289–91; Vaughn, *Handmaidens*, 249–56; Sally N. Vaughn, 'St. Anselm and the English Investiture Controversy Reconsidered', *JMH* 6, 1980, 61–86 at 75; LoPrete, 'Anglo-Norman Card', 581; C. Warren Hollister, 'War and Diplomacy in the Anglo-Norman World', in *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World*, London 1986, 273–89 at 277–9; Barker, 'Ivo and Anselm', 16–17; For Pascal's letter accepting the compromise, see Eadmer, *HN*, 178–9; Anselm, Ep. 397, in *Opera*, V, 340–2; Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, 298.

37 Austin Lane Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087–1216*, 2nd edn, Oxford 1955, 179. On the role of Ivo of Chartres, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton NJ 1957, 44; Frank Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England, 1042–1216*, London 1999, 144; Stanley A. Chodorow, 'Ecclesiastical Politics and the Ending of the Investiture Contest: The Papal Election of 1119 and the Negotiations of Mouzon', *Speculum* 46, 1971, 613–40 at 621.

38 Norman F. Cantor, *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England, 1089–1135*, Princeton NJ 1958, 202–16. For Ivo's letters on the subject, see Epp. 60, 214, 233, 236, in *PL* 162, cols 70–5, 217–19, 235–6, 238–42.

William of Saint-Calais of Durham.[39] Adela's contribution to the theology of the compromise may be questioned, but there is no doubt that her timely intervention provided the opportunity for the negotiations to take place.

In 1107, with the agreement perhaps shaky but still holding, Pope Paschal II himself visited Chartres for Easter.[40] Orderic reported that on this occasion, 'The countess Adela too gave generous sums for the pope's needs and earned the eternal blessing of the apostolic see for herself and her house.'[41] Afterwards, representatives of Bishop Ivo, King Henry I, and Archbishop Anselm all attended a synod at Troyes.[42] Countess Adela undoubtedly already enjoyed papal gratitude for her assistance in the resolution of the English investiture controversy, and this face-to-face meeting and first-hand experience of the family's continued support can only have strengthened the pope's regard for the house of Blois.

This tradition of support for reform-minded Anglo-Norman prelates by Countess Adela, her son Theobald, and her good friend and diocesan bishop Ivo of Chartres continued in the case of Archbishop Thurstan of York. Thurstan of Bayeux was elected archbishop of York in 1114, but remained unconsecrated for five years because he refused to make a profession of obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury.[43] This may seem to have been a local struggle, but the simple fact of Thurstan's appeal to Rome in the face of secular opposition placed him squarely in the camp of the reform papacy. The main source for these events, Hugh the Chanter, emphasizes throughout his account the fact that Thurstan's 'wish to observe the institutions of the blessed pope [and] the dignity of the apostolic see'[44] had resulted in his persecution by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans. It is clear that Pope Calixtus II felt this way as well, for he wrote to Ralph of Escures, the archbishop of Canterbury, saying that he had previously cautioned him 'not to depart from the love of the apostolic see, but you have scarcely any reverence left for us'.[45]

In the face of this new threat, Countess Adela and the other members of the reform network rallied to the support of the embattled Thurstan. Ivo of Chartres immediately wrote to Pope Paschal II, assuring him of Thurstan's good character and urging him to support the archbishop-elect.[46] In the fall of 1119, Thurstan left Henry I's court to travel to Rheims, where he and the other bishops had been summoned to attend a papal council called by the new pope, Calixtus II.[47] During the following months, the bishop-elect visited the lands of Blois and Chartres on

39 Lynn K. Barker, 'Ivo of Chartres and the Anglo-Norman Cultural Tradition', *ANS* 13, 1991 for 1990, 15–33 at 30–3; Barker, 'Ivo and Anselm', 17. Also Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Ivo von Chartres und die Lösung des Investiturproblems', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 15, 1959, 393–440.

40 Orderic, VI, 42 note 1; Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 175, in *PL* 162, cols 177–8; Vaughn, *Handmaidens*, 250; LoPrete, 'Adela and Ivo', 137; Blumenthal, 'Papal Policies', 74.

41 Orderic, VI, 42–3.

42 Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, 50–1; Blumenthal, 'Papal Policies', 81, 97.

43 Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York, 1066–1127*, ed. and trans. Charles Johnson, revised M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke, and M. Winterbottom, Oxford 1990, 56–7; John of Worcester, III, 134–41, 146–7. For more complete accounts of Thurstan's activities, see Jean A. Truax, 'Politics Makes Uneasy Bedfellows: Henry I of England and Theobald of Blois,' in *On the Social Origins of Medieval Institutions: Essays in Honor of Joseph F. O'Callaghan*, ed. Donald J. Kagay and Theresa M. Vann, Leiden 1998, 273–304 at 282–90; Hollister, 'War and Diplomacy', 275–7; Denis Bethell, 'William of Corbeil and the Canterbury-York Dispute', *JEH* 19, 1968, 145–59 at 151–4; Donald Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York, 1114–1140*, York 1964, 35–44; Mary Stroll, *Calixtus II (1119–1124): A Pope Born to Rule*, Leiden 2004, 100–45.

44 Hugh the Chanter, *History*, 88–9.

45 Ibid. 106–9; *Regesta pontificum*, I, no. 6706.

46 Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 276, in *PL* 162, cols 278–9; Nicholl, *Thurstan*, 41.

47 Hugh the Chanter, *History*, 108–9.

several occasions. Upon reaching the Continent, Thurstan stopped first at Chartres, where he had arranged to meet the members of his party who had gone on ahead of him. He met the pope at Tours on 22 September and returned with him to Adela's city of Blois.[48] Hugh the Chanter is almost the only source for these events, and he does not mention a meeting between the pope and the family of Blois, but it is not reasonable to think that a papal visit escaped the notice of the ruling family, especially since Pope Calixtus II, the former Guy of Vienne, was related to them by blood and marriage. His grandfather, Count Reynald I of Burgundy, had married Adeliza, sister of Duke Robert of Normandy, which meant that both King Henry I and Countess Adela of Blois were second cousins of the pope. The pope was also related to the second wife of Adela's brother-in-law, Count Hugh of Troyes.[49] Thurstan's two visits to the family at Blois naturally suggest that he sought to use their influence with both pope and king to resolve his difficulties, an impression which is further strengthened by his subsequent itinerary.

Thurstan travelled in the papal entourage to the council at Rheims, where the pope consecrated him archbishop on 19 October, in direct defiance of the expressed wishes of Henry I.[50] When the king heard the news, he swore that the new archbishop would never enter any part of England as long as he lived, unless he first made his profession of obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury.[51] Therefore, Thurstan had no choice but to continue travelling with the papal party. Interestingly, at this time his companions included two future popes and a rival: Lambert of Ostia, the future Honorius II; Gregory of S. Angelo, later Pope Innocent II; and Peter Pierleone, cardinal deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian, who would become the anti-pope Anacletus II in 1130. Hugh the Chanter proudly reported that the members of the papal party treated Thurstan as 'one of themselves', and bragged that he took part in all the ceremonies of the papal court, assisting the pope when he consecrated churches and altars.[52] At this time, Thurstan received a papal privilege which absolved York of any profession of obedience to Canterbury, letters of support addressed to King Henry and various intermediaries, and the unusual privilege of wearing his archiepiscopal pallium outside his own diocese.[53] By March 1120 the papal party had arrived in Gap, where Thurstan ordained the bishop-elect of Geneva to the minor orders before his ordination to the priesthood and consecration by the pope himself. Significantly, Bernard of St David's, an occasional diplomat and a mainstay of the English court, was also present, perhaps as an envoy from Henry I.[54]

After this, Thurstan left the papal party to return to Normandy, stopping on his way to visit Count Theobald and Countess Adela at Chartres. Hugh the Chanter cryptically remarked that 'he did not entirely conceal from them what he had done and what he carried'.[55] This is undoubtedly a reference to the papal letters and privi-

48 Ibid. 114–15.

49 Ibid. 127 note 4; Orderic, VI, 210–11, 282–3 and note 4; Chodorow, 'Ecclesiastical Politics', 615; LoPrete, 'Anglo-Norman Card', 588 note 73.

50 Hugh the Chanter, *History*, 118–21; Orderic, VI, 252–3; *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 254; John of Worcester, III, 146–7.

51 Hugh the Chanter, *History*, 120–1.

52 Ibid. 134–9.

53 Ibid. 146–9, 154–7; *Regesta pontificum*, I, nos. 6773–4, 6831–2; Mary Cheney, 'Some Observations on a Papal Privilege of 1120 for the Archbishops of York', *JEH* 31, 1980, 429–39.

54 Hugh the Chanter, *History*, 148–9. For Bishop Bernard's activities at the court of Henry I, see *Regesta II*, nos. 1243, 1245, 1261, 1270, 1281, 1283, 1288–9, 1296–7, 1300–1, 1305, 1373, 1425, 1427–8, 1430–1, 1439, 1483, 1485, 1489–90, 1507–8, 1547, 1578, 1581; Hugh the Chanter, *History*, 188–93; Eadmer, *HN*, 295–6.

55 Hugh the Chanter, *History*, 152–3.

leges and to the pallium itself. Thurstan travelled to Rheims, where he received a cordial greeting from the archbishop, and then met the papal legate Cardinal Cuno at Soissons. The legate was on his way to the French court at Senlis, but Thurstan was afraid to attend that court because of the continuing strife between Henry I and King Louis. So one of his clerks accompanied the legate, in order to meet the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Beauvais and arrange for them to deliver the papal letters to the king. Meanwhile, Thurstan returned to visit the countess of Blois and discuss with her the possibility of her entering a convent. The archbishop celebrated Easter on 18 April at Coulombs and then met Cardinal Cuno at Dammartin, where he learned that the two bishops had proved unable to carry the letters to the king, and so they had sent them on with two lesser clerics. Thurstan returned once more to Blois, where he conducted Countess Adela to the convent at Marcigny. He left one of his clerks behind with Count Theobald to hear what the king's response to the pope's letter had been. By the time Thurstan returned from Marcigny, a meeting between King Henry and Cardinal Cuno had been arranged for 30 May at Vernon. Finally at this meeting the king agreed to restore the archbishopric to Thurstan, asking only that he wait for a time before returning to England. Cardinal Cuno was initially opposed to any further delays, but when the archbishop himself arrived at the meeting, Thurstan induced the legate to accept the king's request, thus effectively bringing to a successful conclusion his long struggle to be admitted to his archbishopric, a happy outcome that would probably not have been possible without the support of Countess Adela and her family.[56]

This friendship between the countess and the bishop was well known even in the next generation. John of Hexham described Adela as one of Thurstan's most devoted friends, 'bound to him by a great devotion of mind'.[57] Thurstan, for his part, remained a fervent adherent of the house of Blois and a particular friend to Adela's son Stephen. While Stephen was still count of Mortain, the archbishop collaborated with him in the founding of Furness abbey.[58] Distance prevented Thurstan from attending Stephen's coronation in December 1135, but by February 1136, Stephen was in York visiting his old friend, and Thurstan's attestation appears in charters in favour of Beverley minster, Fountains, Rievaulx, and Warden abbeys, and Winchester cathedral.[59] After the new king's visit, Thurstan travelled with the court during the crucial months of 1136, witnessing charters at Westminster and at the siege of Exeter.[60] In 1137, he held off Scottish incursions into England by negotiating a truce with David I until Stephen returned from Normandy.[61] Thurstan's most signal contribution to Stephen's reign came when the archbishop was an old man, almost an invalid, as he rallied the English forces to check the invasion by David I of Scotland at the battle of the Standard in 1138.[62] Thurstan continued to witness Stephen's charters until the end of his life,[63] and attended the council

56 Ibid. 151–61.
57 John of Hexham, *Historia*, 303.
58 *Regesta II*, no. 1546; Nicholl, *Thurstan*, 144.
59 *Regesta III*, nos. 99, 335, 716, 919, 944–9.
60 Ibid. nos. 46, 337, 341.
61 John of Hexham, *Historia*, 288; Nicholl, *Thurstan*, 218.
62 John of Hexham, *Historia*, 292–5; Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani*, 159–60; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Relatio venerabilis Aelredi, abbatis Rievallensis, de bello standardo*, in *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, III, 181–99 at 182; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, 135; Huntingdon, 712–13; John of Worcester, III, 252–7; Nicholl, *Thurstan*, 221–8.
63 *Regesta III*, nos. 279, 288, 338, 990.

at Northampton in 1138.[64] Archbishop Thurstan's support in the north of England during the crucial early years of Stephen's reign amply repaid the support that he had received from the house of Blois in 1119–20.

Thurstan's struggle during those years also aided Stephen indirectly, by bringing the two papal legates Gregory of S. Angelo and Peter Pierleone to Chartres, for the story of these two men would be further entwined with that of the house of Blois, and one of them, Gregory of S. Angelo, the future Innocent II, would be the pope to rule on King Stephen's claim to the English throne. Equally important is the fact that these events also served to introduce Countess Adela's son Theobald to some of the key clerics of the Roman Church, for it fell to Theobald to continue his mother's connection to the reform network after her entry into the convent at Marcigny in 1120.

Theobald followed in his mother's footsteps, forging close ties of friendship and co-operation with the next generation of ecclesiastical reformers. The foremost among these was Bernard, the fiery and outspoken abbot of Clairvaux. Theobald of Blois's uncle, Count Hugh of Troyes, had given St Bernard the land upon which Clairvaux stood, and when Hugh became a Knight Templar in 1125, Theobald inherited the county of Champagne and became the abbey's patron and protector.[65] Much of the surviving correspondence between Bernard and Theobald contains routine requests, commending various persons to the count or asking for the settlement of property disputes, such as might pass between any ecclesiastical official and a secular lord.[66] However, Bernard also frequently used his influence whenever he felt that he could be helpful to Count Theobald and his people. He wrote to the papal chancellor Haimeric on behalf of Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres, assuring the chancellor that the bishop had wanted to go to Jerusalem, but did not do so because of the likely damage to his flock.[67] On another occasion, St Bernard wrote to Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, asking him to help resolve a quarrel between Count Theobald's son Henry and the French king's brother Robert, who had sworn to kill one another. He mentioned that he had written to other unnamed lords and to Count Theobald, asking them to help settle the matter.[68] He also wrote to chide Abbot Odo of Marmoutier for refusing to abide by the decision of Count Theobald and Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres regarding some revenues that were in dispute between the monks and the secular clergy.[69] One unnamed addressee, displeased with the count's distribution of alms, wrote to Bernard to complain, thinking that he had advised Theobald in the matter. Bernard denied his influence, but this letter shows how close others thought the two men were.[70]

Theobald also co-operated with Bernard in his championing of the order of the Knights Templar. When Hugh of Payens and Andrew of Montbard returned to France from the Holy Land in 1126, they visited St Bernard to enlist his support with the clerical establishment. At the same time, Theobald gave his financial support, donating property of his own near Provins, and also allowing his vassals to make contributions from their own lands.[71] In 1129, Theobald attended the church council

64 John of Worcester, III, 240–1.

65 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 31, in *PL* 182, cols 135–6.

66 Bernard of Clairvaux, Epp. 37–41, in *PL* 182, cols 143–8. Also Epp. 38, 45–6, in *Letters of St. Bernard*, trans. James, pp. 71, 75 (not in *PL*).

67 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 52, in *PL* 182, col. 159.

68 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 376, in *PL* 182, col. 581.

69 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 397, in *PL* 182, cols 606–9.

70 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 416, in *PL* 182, cols 623–4.

71 *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple, 1119?–1150: recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à*

at Troyes, which, under the leadership of St Bernard, developed the formal rule of the Templars.[72] Other letters indicate a close personal relationship between the abbot and the count and testify to the great respect and affection which Bernard felt for the count. For example, a letter from Bernard to Theobald asking for mercy for a man named Anseric refers to 'that bond of brotherhood that was conferred on you in our chapter'.[73] In 1142, two intersecting cases combined to put Count Theobald at odds with King Louis VII of France, his feudal overlord. First, the French king refused to allow Pierre of La Châtre to accept the see of Bourges. Pope Innocent II excommunicated the king and consecrated the new bishop, who, perhaps depending upon Theobald's past loyalty to the papacy, sought shelter in the count's domain.[74] At the same time, Ralph of Vermandois tried to have his marriage to Theobald's niece annulled so that he could marry Petronilla, the sister of Queen Eleanor. A legatine council at Lagny upheld the first marriage and placed an interdict on Ralph's lands. The king responded by invading Theobald's territory and Bernard fired off a series of letters trying to resolve the situation. In a letter to Innocent II, he called Theobald 'a great lover of innocence and piety'.[75] With the situation still unresolved when Celestine II succeeded Innocent II in 1143, Bernard wrote to Rome again for help, stating that 'Count Theobald is a son of peace, and what he asks for, I ask for too.'[76] John of Salisbury described Pope Eugenius III's reversal of the decisions of his predecessors in granting Count Ralph his divorce,[77] and recorded that St Bernard, recalcitrant to the end, prophesied that the count would not enjoy his wife for long and that none of their children 'would bear worthy fruit among the people of God'.[78] He also wrote that St Bernard was 'fervently attached to Count Theobald because of his pursuit of justice and reputation for uprightness, his respect for monks and generosity towards Christ's poor'.[79] As a last example, in a letter that Bernard wrote to Theobald's wife after the count's death, the abbot commiserated with her on the bad behaviour of her son, and sought to console her with the hope that 'the merits and alms of his father will bring about a change for the better in him'.[80] St Bernard's voluminous correspondence records the many occasions on which the abbot and the count co-operated with each other in both secular and ecclesiastical affairs and provides ample evidence of the affection and respect with which the saint regarded the count.

As might be expected, St Bernard frequently used the cities of Theobald's domain for important gatherings, and this naturally furthered the count's acquaintance with important ecclesiastical reformers. For example, Bernard held a meeting at Blois to settle the disputed election to the bishopric of Tours. In a letter to Innocent II giving an account of the meeting, he remarked that he had chosen Blois as the location because it was 'both convenient and safe for those concerned'.[81]

l'ordre du Temple, ed. Marquis d'Albon, Paris 1913, no. 9, 6; translated in Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge 2003, 13.

72 The Latin Rule of 1129, translated in Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated*, Manchester 2002, 31–54.

73 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 44, in *Letters of St. Bernard*, trans. James, p. 75 (not in *PL*).

74 Bernard of Clairvaux, Epp. 218–19, in *PL* 182, cols 381–5; *La Chronique de Morigny (1095–1152)*, ed. Léon Mirot, Paris 1909, 80–1.

75 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 217, in *PL* 182, cols 380–1.

76 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 358, in *PL* 182, col. 560.

77 John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, 12–13.

78 Ibid. 14.

79 Ibid.

80 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 300, in *PL* 182, col. 502.

81 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 431, in *PL* 182, col. 633. See also Epp. 150–1, in *PL* 182, cols 306–11.

On another occasion, he chose Chartres as the location of a meeting with leading ecclesiastical dignitaries to discuss the upcoming Second Crusade.[82] Chartres played host to another important council in 1124, when the two ubiquitous papal legates, Gregory of S. Angelo and Peter Pierleoni, once again visited France. They convened a council at Chartres to consider the marriage of William Clito and Sibyl of Anjou. Henry I desperately wanted the marriage annulled because Clito, the son of his older brother Robert Curthose, threatened to topple the English king from his throne, a situation aggravated by Clito's union with Henry's perpetual rivals, the counts of Anjou.[83]

Still other evidence points to Theobald's sincere interest in matters of religion, well beyond that expected of an Anglo-Norman feudal magnate. Walter Map tells an affecting story about Theobald's care for the lepers of Chartres, complete with an account of his washing the feet of the afflicted and including a vision of Christ in the guise of one old man in whom Theobald took particular interest.[84] This fanciful story is not recorded in other sources, but perhaps it preserves a core of truth regarding the care of Theobald and his family for the lepers of the city. The leprosarium of Grand-Beaulieu had been founded by Count Theobald III in 1054, and retained a special interest for subsequent generations of the family. The cartulary records a number of donations and confirmations by Count Theobald and his mother Adela over the years.[85]

The story of the lepers also illustrates Theobald's reputation for more than ordinary sanctity, and makes somewhat more likely another story related in the life of St Norbert of Xanten, the founder of the Premonstratensian canons. According to the saint's life, Theobald approached the holy founder of the abbey of Prémontré about becoming a member of his house. However, the saint dissuaded him, on the grounds that Theobald was already using his wealth and power for a good purpose. Shortly thereafter, at Norbert's suggestion, Theobald married Mathilde, the daughter of the margrave of Kraiburg, a family with which St Norbert enjoyed a close friendship.[86]

Thus, following his mother's example, Theobald of Blois formed new relationships with the next generation of ecclesiastical reformers during the decade of the 1120s. These relationships involved Theobald in an event which proved crucial for his brother's later appeal to the papacy. In 1130 both of the papal legates entertained at Chartres six years earlier were elected pope. Under the leadership of Haimeric, the papal chancellor, the death of Pope Honorius II was kept secret long enough for a small group of cardinals to meet and elect Gregory of S. Angelo to be Pope Innocent II. Disagreeing with this move, the rest of the cardinals elected a rival,

82 Bernard of Clairvaux, Epp. 256, 364, in *PL* 182, cols 463–5, 568–70.

83 Hugh the Chanter, *History*, 80–1; Orderic, VI, 164–7; Josèphe Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151: Foulque de Jerusalem et Geoffroi Plantagenet*, Paris 1928, 117–18; Theodor Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich, vom Vertrage von Meersen, 870, bis zum Schisma von 1130*, Berlin 1935, 215; Sandy Burton Hicks, 'The Anglo-Papal Bargain of 1125: The Legatine Mission of John of Crema', *Albion* 8, 1976, 301–10 at 305; Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial, 'Recherches sur l'objet d'un concile tenu à Chartres, l'an 1124', *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France* 4, 1919, 530–44.

84 Walter Map, *De nugis curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. M. R. James, revised C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1983, 462–5.

85 *Cartulaire de la léproserie du Grand-Beaulieu et du prieuré de Notre-Dame de la Bourdinière*, ed. René Merlet and Maurice Jusselin, Chartres 1909, nos. 3, 9, 11, 23–4, 35–6.

86 *Vita Norberti archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis*, in MGH Scriptores 12, 689–90, 693; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, 7 vols in 8, Paris 1859–69, II, 263; François Petit, *Norbert et l'origine des Prémontrés*, Paris 1981, 178–81, 187, 214; Godefroid Madelaine, *Histoire de saint Norbert, fondateur de l'ordre de Prémontré et archevêque de Magdebourg, d'après les manuscrits et les documents originaux*, Lille 1886, 246–52, 304–30.

Peter Pierleoni, who took the name Anacletus II.[87] Scholars have long agreed that both individuals were worthy successors of St Peter and have proposed a number of reasons for the disagreement. Chodorow saw a split among the cardinals dating from about 1119 regarding the solution to the investiture controversy, with the hard-line Pierleoni faction maintaining that the spiritual and temporal aspects of a bishopric could not be split apart.[88] However, David Berger and Mary Stroll have suggested that anti-Semitism may have played a part in the disagreement, since Peter Pierleoni's great-grandfather had been a convert from Judaism.[89] However, there is considerably more agreement on the fact that chancellor Haimeric's influence with the key leaders of the Gregorian reform in northern Europe resulted in Innocent II's acceptance by the kings of France and England and the Holy Roman Emperor. Among Innocent's crucial supporters were St Bernard of Clairvaux, St Norbert of Xanten, Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny, and Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres.[90] We have seen that Theobald of Blois was a close friend of Norbert of Xanten and Bernard of Clairvaux. The house of Blois was also tied to the abbey of Cluny by the vocations of two of its members. Bishop Henry of Winchester, the younger brother of Count Theobald and King Stephen, began his ecclesiastical career as a monk of Cluny and remained a friend and benefactor of the abbey for his entire life.[91] And as we have seen, their mother Countess Adela was a nun at the Cluniac nunnery of Marcigny after 1120.

These ecclesiastical friends of Count Theobald formed the core of support for Pope Innocent II. As we know from the correspondence of the two contenders themselves, St Norbert was particularly instrumental in getting the Emperor Lothar III to recognize Innocent II at the Diet of Würzburg and took a leading role in the proceedings of the council at Liège, and in Lothar's expedition to Italy, which placed Innocent on the papal throne and secured an imperial coronation for Lothar himself.[92] And as imperial chancellor, it was Norbert who drew up the act which condemned Pierleoni.[93] A papal bull confirming the privileges of the archdiocese of Magdeburg

87 Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, 256–9; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, 117; Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, cc. 6–9; Huntingdon, 486–7; John of Worcester, III, 188–9, 232–3.

88 Chodorow, 'Ecclesiastical Politics', 623; Stroll, *Calixtus II*, 461–2.

89 David Berger, 'The Attitude of St. Bernard of Clairvaux toward the Jews', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 40, 1972, 89–108 at 105–6; Mary Stroll, *The Jewish Pope: Ideology and Politics in the Papal Schism of 1130*, Leiden 1987, 160–4.

90 *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols, Oxford 1981, II, 755–7; Innocent II, Ep. 47, in *PL* 179, cols 96–7; Stroll, *Jewish Pope*, 164; Frits Hugenholtz and Henk Teunis, 'Suger's Advice', *JMH* 12, 1986, 191–206 at 204; Jean Leclerq, 'Les Lettres de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry à saint Bernard,' *Revue Bénédictine* 79, 1969, 375–91 at 375–82; Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 326, in *PL* 182, cols 531–3.

91 Peter the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols, Cambridge MA 1967, I, Epp. 49, 55–7, 59–61, 88, 107 (pp. 148–50, 175–9, 189–91, 228, 270), esp. Epp. 56 and 61. For charters of Henry I benefiting Cluny witnessed by Henry of Blois, see *Regesta II*, nos. 1713 and 1721, also no. 1599a, benefiting Marcigny. For Stephen's charter to Cluny witnessed by Henry of Blois, see *Regesta III*, no. 204. Also Robin Coyle Floyd, 'Henry of Blois: Able Administrator and Sometime Statesman, His Career, 1126–1171', unpublished masters thesis, University of Houston 1993, 86–109.

92 *Vita Norberti*, 697–703; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, 260–5; Stroll, *Jewish Pope*, 71–9; Franz-Josef Schmale, *Studien zum Schisma des Jahres 1130*, Cologne 1961, 244–5; Herbert Bloch, 'The Schism of Anacletus II and the Glanfeuil Forgeries of Peter the Deacon of Monte Casino', *Traditio* 8, 1952, 159–264 at 173–4; Elphège Vacandard, 'Saint Bernard et le schisme de l'antipape Anaclet II en France', *Revue des Questions Historiques* 43, 1888, 61–123 at 96–7; Petit, *Norbert*, 273–82, 289–96; Madelaine, *Histoire de Saint Norbert*, 408–41. Letters from the anti-pope Anacletus II are printed ibid. 544–6.

93 *PL* 179, cols 47–8; Petit, *Norbert*, 292.

issued at this time referred to Norbert as an 'impenetrable bulwark' against the tyranny of Peter Pierleoni.[94]

Similarly, Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny corresponded frequently with Innocent II, and, although the order remained divided, the abbot's recognition of his authority did much to place the strength of the Cluniacs at Innocent's service.[95] The abbot of Cluny's support was particularly valuable to Innocent II, for Anacletus II had been a monk of Cluny and had written to the abbot of his former monastery in May 1130 to request Cluny's support.[96] This support was apparently refused immediately, for Innocent visited Cluny in October and consecrated the abbey's new church.[97] The abbot also wrote to Cardinal Gilo of Tusculum, a fellow Cluniac and the only French cardinal to support the anti-pope, attempting to dissuade him from his allegiance.[98] He visited Gilo at Poitiers in 1133,[99] and wrote to him a second time in 1138 after the death of the anti-pope.[100] Another letter describes an attack which Peter's party suffered on their way back from Innocent's council at Pisa in June 1135.[101] The identity of the attackers was not known, but Constable speculated that they were supporters of the anti-pope Anacletus II or of the bishops who had been deposed by the council.[102]

Another cleric with ties to Chartres emerged during the schism as a junior member of the ecclesiastical reform network. Arnulf, archdeacon of Sées and future bishop of Lisieux, had been a clerk under Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres.[103] He became a strong supporter of Innocent II, and wrote the *Invectiva in Girardum Engolismensem episcopum,* a violently partisan tract that maligned Peter Pierleoni for his Jewish ancestry and accused him of various sexual crimes, including incest with his sister.[104]

However, no one's influence was more pervasive than that of St Bernard of Clairvaux. He wrote numerous letters supporting Innocent II's claim to Peter the Venerable, to the bishops of Aquitaine, and to the Emperor Lothar.[105] In his letter to the bishops of Aquitaine, he cited Norbert of Magdeburg as one of the authorities who had already recognized his candidate.[106] Bernard's influence was instrumental in

94 *PL* 179, cols 183–6; Petit, *Norbert*, 295.

95 Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, I, Epp. 1, 11, 17, 21, 23, 27, 32–3, 39, 46, 63–4, 72, 92, 97, 101, 103–4 (pp. 4–5, 17–18, 24–5, 42–4, 50–2, 106–9, 131–4, 142–4, 192–4, 206, 233–4, 257–8, 261–2, 265–7). See esp. Ep. 1, which expresses Peter's confidence in Innocent's ultimate victory and refers to his desire to help the pope, and Ep. 62, the pope's reply. Also Schmale, *Schisma*, 222.

96 *Regesta pontificum*, I, no. 8376; Orderic, VI, 420–1; Bloch, 'Schism of Anacletus II', 163.

97 *Regesta pontificum*, I, no. 7548; Orderic, VI, 418–19; *Vita Petri Venerabilis*, in *PL* 189, col. 20.

98 Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, I, Ep. 40 (pp. 134–6).

99 Ibid. II, p. 141.

100 Ibid. I, Ep. 66 (pp. 195–7).

101 Ibid. Ep. 27 (pp. 50–2).

102 Ibid. II, p. 115.

103 Carolyn Poling Schriber, *The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux: New Ideas Versus Old Ideals*, Bloomington IN 1990, 2–3.

104 Arnulf of Lisieux, *In Girardum Engolismensem invectiva*, in MGH Scriptores 12, 707–20; for discussion of this work, see Stroll, *Jewish Pope*, 95–6, 129, 160–1; Schriber, *Arnulf of Lisieux*, 6–9; Bloch, 'Schism of Anacletus II', 167; Schmale, *Schisma*, 231–2; Hubert Claude, 'Autour du schisme d'Anaclet: saint Bernard et Girard d'Angoulême', in *Mélanges Saint Bernard: XXIV^{e} congrès de l'Association bourguignonne des sociétés savantes (8^{e} centenaire de la mort de saint Bernard)*, Dijon 1955, 80–94 at 88–90.

105 Bernard of Clairvaux, Epp. 124–6, 129–30, 133, 137, 139–40, 314, in *PL* 182, cols 268–81, 283–6, 288–9, 291–6, 520–1; Stroll, *Jewish Pope*, 96–9; Bruno Scott James, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: An Essay in Biography*, London 1957, 99–114; Hayden V. White, 'The Gregorian Ideal and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 21, 1960, 321–48 at 335–41; Helene Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily, *Rex-Tyrannus*, in Twelfth-Century Political Thought', *Speculum* 38, 1963, 46–78 at 58–9.

106 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 126, in *PL* 182, col. 270.

securing the recognition of Innocent II by Louis VI of France at the council of Étampes.[107] Later, in 1135 Bernard wrote to Louis, asking him to allow the French bishops to attend Innocent II's council at Pisa.[108] He wrote to Henry I of England requesting financial aid for the pope,[109] and to the Emperor Lothar suggesting that he travel to Rome to place Innocent on the throne.[110] The abbot of Clairvaux travelled twice to Italy, in 1133 and again in 1137–8, where he worked hard to persuade the people of Milan and Pisa to support Innocent.[111] He also made two visits to Aquitaine to convince Duke William X to abandon his support of Anacletus II.[112]

However, perhaps Bernard's most significant achievement in terms of its subsequent impact on the house of Blois occurred on 13 January 1131 at Chartres, when Bernard arranged a meeting between Pope Innocent II and King Henry I of England, which led to Henry's recognition of Innocent as the rightful pope in the disputed election.[113] We know that Theobald was present for this crucial event, since his attestation appears on a charter of Henry I in favour of Fontevrault abbey that was issued during the papal visit.[114] Scholars agree that St Bernard's influence was crucial in persuading Henry I to accept Innocent as pope,[115] and it is not unreasonable to suspect that Theobald himself earned no little gratitude from Innocent II for playing host to this momentous event. Perhaps more important, his long-standing ties of friendship and affection with Bernard of Clairvaux, Norbert of Xanten, and Peter the Venerable placed Theobald near the centre of the circle that had been so crucial in gaining recognition for Innocent II from the rulers of northern Europe.

Thus, by 1135 when Stephen of Blois seized the English throne, his brother Theobald was well placed to influence the opinion of the Church in his favour. Almost immediately, the new king received a confirmation of his right to the throne from Pope Innocent II. Since Stephen's great charter of liberties for the Church, issued in early April 1136, mentions confirmation by the pope, it can be seen how quickly this was granted.[116] As reproduced by Richard of Hexham, Pope Innocent II's letter cited among the reasons for his agreement the letters of bishops and archbishops, and 'those lovers of the Holy Roman Church', Count Theobald and the king

[107] *S. Bernardi Vita Prima*, in *PL* 185, col. 270; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, 258–61; Petit, *Norbert*, 276; Schmale, *Schisma*, 221–32; Claude, 'Autour du schisme', 83; Vacandard, 'Saint Bernard', 85–95; Aryeh Graboïs, 'Le Schisme de 1130 et la France', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 76, 1981, 593–612; Timothy Reuter, 'Zur Anerkennung Papst Innocenz II: Eine neue Quelle', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 39, 1983, 395–416; E. Amélineau, 'Saint Bernard et le schisme d'Anaclet II (1130–1138)', *Revue des Questions Historiques* 30, 1881, 47–112 at 63–4.

[108] Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 255, in *PL* 182, cols 462–3.

[109] Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 138, in *PL* 182, cols 292–3.

[110] Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 139, in *PL* 182, cols 293–5.

[111] *S. Bernardi Vita Prima*, in *PL* 185, cols 273–5; Bernard of Clairvaux, Epp. 131–3, in *PL* 182, cols 286–9. Other letters mentioning his efforts with respect to Milan are Epp. 137 and 314, in *PL* 182, cols 291–2, 520–1. For Pisa, see Ep. 213, in *PL* 182, col. 378. Also Amélineau, 'Saint Bernard', 72–82.

[112] *S. Bernardi Vita Prima*, in *PL* 185, cols 286–91; Vacandard, 'Saint Bernard', 107–21; Claude, 'Autour du schisme', 84–5, 91–2; Amélineau, 'Saint Bernard', 82–92.

[113] *S. Bernardi Vita Prima*, in *PL* 185, col. 271; Orderic, VI, 420–1; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, 119; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, 260–1; Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 138, in *PL* 182, cols 292–3; Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, cc. 9–10; Huntingdon, 486–7; *Chronique de Morigny*, 53; Schmale, *Schisma*, 233–6; Vacandard, 'Saint Bernard', 95–6; Amélineau, 'Saint Bernard', 64–5.

[114] *Regesta II*, no. 1687.

[115] Christopher Holdsworth, 'St Bernard and England', *ANS* 8, 1986 for 1985, 138–53 at 147–8; D. L. Bethell, 'English Black Monks and Episcopal Elections in the 1120s', *EHR* 84, 1969, 673–98 at 691–2; Bloch, 'Schism of Anacletus II', 168.

[116] *Regesta III*, no. 271. Also Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani*, 147–8; John of Hexham, *Historia*, 288.

of France.[117] It is extremely significant that Count Theobald is mentioned by name, and this testifies to the great credit which the count had gained with the papacy as a result of his own and his mother's long record of friendship and support for the reforming ecclesiastics of northern Europe.

We are left to guess the identities of the clerics who sent letters to Rome on Stephen's behalf, but a tantalizing clue comes from Countess Adela herself, in almost her last appearance on the stage of history. Just as Stephen was thrusting his way to power in England, the countess wrote to Peter the Venerable asking if he had news of the situation.[118] Was this a simple request for information, or did it allude to a possible intervention by the abbot to secure papal approval of Stephen's claim? In any case, later correspondence on another matter leaves no doubt about the opinion that two leaders of the reform network held of Stephen's rivals, the Empress Matilda and her second husband, Geoffrey of Anjou. In 1140, when Archdeacon Arnulf of Sées was elected to succeed his uncle as the bishop of Lisieux, Geoffrey of Anjou refused to allow him to be admitted to his see. When Peter the Venerable wrote to the pope to ask him to confirm Arnulf's election, he said that the whole Church considered Geoffrey an enemy, a reference to the Angevins' previous support of the anti-pope Anacletus II.[119] St Bernard also wrote on Arnulf's behalf, calling Geoffrey 'an enemy of the cross of Christ'.[120] The reformers' distaste for the house of Anjou is evident in these remarks. It is not unreasonable to expect that these same reformers also actively intervened on behalf of the newly crowned King Stephen, just as, fifteen years earlier, with Count Theobald's assistance, they had come to the aid of the pope himself.

It is conceivable that in 1136 Pope Innocent II did not know that Henry I had designated his daughter, the Empress Matilda, as his successor, and that the major lay and ecclesiastical leaders of the realm, including Stephen himself, had sworn several solemn oaths to support her. In any case, the pope had another opportunity to review the evidence in 1139, when the empress and her supporters appealed their case to Rome. It is unlikely that Innocent felt any sympathy for Matilda, because, unlike Stephen of Blois, her family history would not have endeared her to the pope. First of all, Matilda was the widow of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V, who had held Pope Paschal II prisoner in 1111, and later had come to Italy and set up a rival pope, Gregory VIII, in opposition to Gelasius II.[121] At a council at Rouen in 1118, the papal legate, Cardinal Cuno of Palestrina, described the often-excommunicated[122] emperor as 'the sinful wrecker of the good works and achievements of Pope Paschal and the harsh persecutor of Catholics'.[123] Naturally this would have brought Matilda to the unfavourable attention of the papacy at the time, particularly since she remained as regent in Italy after her husband returned to

117 Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani*, 147; Christopher Holdsworth, 'The Church', in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. Edmund King, Oxford 1994, 207–29 at 209–10.

118 Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, I, Ep. 15 (p. 22).

119 Ibid. Ep. 101 (pp. 261–2); Schriber, *Arnulf of Lisieux*, 15–19.

120 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 348, in *PL* 182, col. 553.

121 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 764–5; Orderic, VI, 172–3, 266–7; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, 64–7; John of Worcester, III, 118–19, 142–3, 150–1; K. Leyser, 'England and the Empire in the Early Twelfth Century', *TRHS* 5th series 10, 1960, 61–83 at 77.

122 Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 236, in *PL* 162, cols 238–42; Orderic, VI, 274–5; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, 66–9; Robert Somerville, 'The Council of Beauvais, 1114', *Traditio* 24, 1968, 493–503 at 493–4; Stoll, *Calixtus II*, 88–91, 212–17; Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, 28.

123 Orderic, VI, 202–3.

Germany.[124] Henry V was long dead by 1139, but Innocent himself had a more recent and personal reason to oppose Matilda's claim. She and her husband, Geoffrey of Anjou, as well as her uncle and chief supporter, King David I of Scotland, had supported Anacletus II in the schism of 1130.[125]

However, just in case there was any doubt about the pope's gratitude to the house of Blois, Stephen had one more surprise waiting for Matilda's supporters as they gathered in Rome in 1139 to present her case. Stephen's spokesman for the occasion was none other than Archdeacon Arnulf of Sées, the fiery author of so much purple prose on Innocent's behalf during the crucial days of the schism. Arnulf's appearance at the papal court must have been a vivid reminder to the pope of all that he owed to the house of Blois and to the network of friendship that united him to the ecclesiastical reformers of northern Europe, and probably did as much to sway the pope's decision in favour of Stephen as the archdeacon's actual arguments. Arnulf did not attempt to deny the various oaths in favour of Matilda, but stated that they had been extorted by force and were in any case conditional only, since the king might still produce an heir. Furthermore, on his death bed the king had changed his mind and appointed his nephew Stephen as his heir. He noted that all this had been accepted by the archbishop of Canterbury, William of Corbeil, who was also the papal legate. Arnulf further stated that Matilda was illegitimate because her mother had been a nun at Romsey abbey.[126] Matilda's spokesman, Bishop Ulger of Angers, attempted to refute these charges, but the pope seemed anxious to dispose of the matter without delay and was unwilling even to give the Angevin argument his proper attention. As John of Salisbury wrote,

> Pope Innocent would not hear their arguments any further; nor would he pronounce sentence or adjourn the case to a later date; but acting against the advice of certain cardinals, especially Guy, cardinal priest of St Mark, he accepted King Stephen's gifts and in friendly letters confirmed his occupation of the kingdom of England and the duchy of Normandy.[127]

There are only two accounts of the proceedings, by John of Salisbury and Gilbert Foliot, both Angevin supporters, so it is to be expected that their unhappiness with the verdict might cloud their stories. However, on the basis of the only evidence available, it appears that significant opposition to Stephen's cause existed within the curia. Innocent, perhaps fearing that the king's case would not stand prolonged scrutiny, hastened to terminate the proceedings with a decision in favour of the family to which he owed so much. John of Salisbury implied that Stephen's gifts had bought the favourable decision, for he had Bishop Ulger remark that 'Peter has left home, and the house is given over to money-changers'.[128] However, material gifts probably mattered far less to Innocent II than the participation of Stephen's family in the 'commonwealth of friendship' that united them with the reforming churchmen of northern Europe who had been instrumental in upholding Innocent's disputed

124 Karl Leyser, 'The Anglo-Norman Succession, 1120–1125', *ANS* 13, 1991 for 1990, 225–41 at 229–32; Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, 29, 33.

125 For Geoffrey of Anjou, see Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, I, Ep. 101 (pp. 261–2); Schriber, *Arnulf of Lisieux*, 15–19. For David of Scotland, see Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani*, 153–4; Holdsworth, 'The Church', 209; Bloch, 'Schism of Anacletus II', 168; Schmale, *Schisma*, 236–7.

126 John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, 83–5; Schriber, *Arnulf of Lisieux*, 16–17; *Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, no. 26.

127 John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, 84–5.

128 Ibid. 85.

election to the papal throne in 1130. Even though Stephen himself remained relatively uninvolved in matters of religion, the devotion of Countess Adela and Count Theobald of Blois to the cause of ecclesiastical reform over many years had paid rich dividends in obtaining papal approval, given in the face of significant opposition, for Stephen's claim to the English throne.

THE *VITA ÆDWARDI*: THE POLITICS OF POETRY AT WILTON ABBEY

Elizabeth M. Tyler

The eleventh century has traditionally been constructed as a fallow period for English literary culture. The end of the tenth century and the very beginning of the eleventh century saw the monastic learning of the Benedictine Reform and a vibrant tradition of vernacular homiletic prose (Ælfric and Wulfstan). The eleventh century was followed by the explosion of historical and fictional writing in both Latin and French which characterizes the 'renaissance' of learning and culture in the Anglo-Norman realm. England, once on the periphery of Europe, is seen to have been brought into this 'renaissance' as a result of the Conquest. In between the early eleventh and the early twelfth centuries, nothing much literary is thought to have happened. Amidst the political and linguistic upheavals of the Danish and Norman conquests, the once robust and distinctively vernacular literary culture of Anglo-Saxon England appears to have withered away, reduced to the zealous copying of older homilies, to the preservation of an increasingly fossilized form of English poetry, and to the cultivation of Latin historiography and hagiography by foreign-born clerics, often for women.[1]

This orthodox interpretation needs to be overhauled. One avenue in this reinterpretation is the exciting work being done on the continuity of English into the thirteenth century, especially in the manuscripts project being led by Elaine Treharne and Mary Swan.[2] Here I will take another route, a study of history-writing and poetry, to argue that, far from being an interlude, the eleventh century marked a rich and vibrant period of creativity for English literature. Two texts are key: the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, written for Emma, widow of Æthelred and Cnut, and the *Vita Ædwardi*, written for Edward's wife and widow, Edith.[3] The authors of

[1] For recent accounts of Anglo-Saxon literature, see Seth Lerer, 'Old English and its Afterlife', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace, Cambridge 1999, 7–34; R. D. Fulk and Christopher M. Cain, *A History of Old English Literature*, Oxford 2003; and Daniel Donoghue, *Old English Literature: A Short Introduction*, Oxford 2004. *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne, Oxford 2001, stands apart because of its inclusion of Treharne's essay ('English in the Post-Conquest Period', 403–14) persuasively arguing for the vitality of English from 1066 into the thirteenth century. However, the period from Wulfstan to the Conquest is still largely unrepresented. On literary culture after the Conquest, see R. W. Southern, 'The Place of England in the Twelfth Century Renaissance', in his *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, Oxford 1970, 158–80; A. G. Rigg *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422*, Cambridge 1992; and Ian Short, 'Language and Literature', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts, Woodbridge 2003, 191–213. My forthcoming monograph *Crossing Conquests: Women and the Politics of Literature in Eleventh-Century England*, Toronto, will look at late Anglo-Saxon literary culture through the lens of women's patronage of history-writing.

[2] The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220; website <www.le.ac.uk/ee/em1060to1220>.

[3] *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. Alistair Campbell, Camden 3rd series 72, 1949; reissued with introduction by Simon Keynes, Cambridge 1998; *The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster, Attributed to a Monk of Saint-Bertin*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow, 2nd edn, Oxford 1992. The *Vita Ædwardi*

these texts and their patrons (lay women) used classical learning in the form of the 'Roman story-world' as a means of negotiating dynastic ambition amidst the politics of conquest.[4] The historiographical culture of late Anglo-Saxon England, with its often contradictory accounts of conquest, factionalism, and near civil war, was extraordinarily lively, as clerics and patrons grappled with what it meant to give a true account of events.

A generation before debates about the causes of Norman Conquest spurred thinking about the truth of history, the *Encomium* reveals that questions of truth and fiction were being raised as Emma and her Encomiast attempted to explain her actions during the reigns of Cnut and his sons. Amidst the infighting of Harthacnut's court, the Encomiast turned to Virgil's *Aeneid*, finding in it an authoritative model for producing politically useful dynastic fiction. Looking at the Encomiast's exploration of the boundary between history and fiction illustrates that he worked within an intellectual climate that would, in the twelfth century, produce powerful conceptual arguments for the truth of made-up fiction.[5] In this article, I examine the Roman story-world, fiction, and politics in the *Vita Ædwardi*, to extend my earlier work on the *Encomium*. As the anonymous author of the *Vita* tried to give shape to the chaotic events leading up to William's victory, he carried on the Encomiast's engagement with classical poetry and in so doing he implicitly asked if it was possible to narrate a truthful account of the final years of Edward's reign.

In exploring the *Vita*, I will follow three main themes not only to open up late Anglo-Saxon literary culture but also to bring into view its crucial impact on the ways a thriving literary culture developed in twelfth-century western Europe. The first theme is the increasing importance of the court, alongside the royal nunnery, as a location of innovative literary culture.[6] My second main theme is the use of Latin, not as an elite clerical language, but as a 'life-line of communication' in a fractured, multilingual society where English competed with Danish and then French, and where courtly life was increasingly international.[7] This use of Latin involved a turning away from the obscure hermeneutic style which marked English texts in the tenth century, and also from English as a language of history-writing.[8] Finally, I am interested in tracing the contested role of poetry as a medium for history-writing and the way this is linked to the exploration of notions of fictionality. In looking

will hereafter be cited as *VE* (by book, chapter, and page) and the introduction as Barlow, *Life of King Edward*. All translations are Barlow's.

4 The 'Roman story-world' is T. P. Wiseman's productive concept, denoting both Roman myth and history. The term encompasses the texts themselves and their long reception in the post-classical world. This reception extends beyond direct knowledge of classical texts to include familiarity with the stories they contain and hence extends to the vernacular: *The Myths of Rome*, Exeter 2004, esp. 10–12.

5 Elizabeth M. Tyler, 'Fictions of Family: The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Viator* 36, 2005, 149–79; eadem, 'Talking about History in Eleventh-Century England: The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and the Court of Harthacnut', *EME* 13, 2005, 359–83. On the Norman Conquest and fiction, see Robert M. Stein, *Reality Fictions: Romance, History, and Governmental Authority, 1025–1180*, Notre Dame IN 2006, 65–103.

6 See my 'Crossing Conquests: Polyglot Royal Women and Literary Culture in Eleventh-Century England', in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, 850–1250*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler, Turnhout forthcoming.

7 For Latin as a life-line of communication after the Norman Conquest, see Christopher Baswell, 'Latinitas', in *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. Wallace, 122–51, and after the Danish conquest, see my 'Talking about History'.

8 Michael Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *ASE* 4, 1975, 67–111, reprinted in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066*, London 1993, 105–49; Elizabeth M. Tyler, 'From Old English to Old French', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and others, York 2009.

at fictionality, I will be concerned to shed light on the social and political reasons for the emergence of ideas of fiction rather than seeing it in a more purely literary way as an intellectual and aesthetic phenomenon.[9] My approach to the *Vita* will combine close reading with attention to the social networks in which this text made its meaning.

The *Vita*, as its author tells us, was written for Edith.[10] It is generally accepted that the author was a monk from the Flemish monastery of Saint-Bertin, in Saint-Omer, in the ecclesiastical province of Rheims. The text, a complex and fluid work, appears to have been written across the Conquest; Barlow's dating of the composition as 1065–7 has been widely accepted.[11] Its complexity is embodied in its very form: book I, an account of Edward's reign, is a prosimetrum, that is a text in alternating verse and prose. Book II is a hagiography, probably, after its verse prologue, recounted only in prose (the fragmentary nature of the manuscript makes it impossible to be entirely certain). Although thematic links clearly unify the whole text, the two books relate to each other oddly, with each moving through the same chronological span but offering different accounts. The juxtaposition of these two accounts expresses something of the difficulty of making sense of Edward's reign and its aftermath, especially for Edith. My subject here, however, is not the tension between the two books, but rather that within book I itself.

On the surface (that is in prose), book I presents a view of Edward's reign which is positive towards Godwin and his sons and redeems the barrenness of the royal marriage as a sign of holy virginity. Not until the Anonymous recounts the northern rebellion and its disastrous effect on Edward, hastening his death, is he ever less than positive – even Edward's welcoming back of the innocent and steadfastly loyal Godwin and his family in 1051 seems to undo the harm of their banishment (which is largely blamed on the bad advice of the Norman archbishop of Canterbury, Robert). The poetry of the *Vita*, on the other hand, consistently pulls away from this vision. Once it gets past the prologue, some of it is extremely dark indeed. This poetry is very varied, including two extended prologues of elegiac distiches in which the poet addresses his muse, and six poems in hexameter. Some of the poems are classicizing, while others are written in a fully religious mode.[12] It is really quite an extraordinary text which has almost everything in it: history, poetry, and hagiography. Yet the Anonymous creates a strong unity out of this generic diversity – and that unity must be part of the meaning of the text. The parts of this text cannot be understood in isolation from each other. As Peter Dronke writes with regard to Notker's prosimetrical life of St Gallus, the form allows the poet to 'shape-shift' and to 'use diverse strategies for the testing of truth'.[13] Both of these possibilities will

9 See my 'Fictions of Family', 155–8 and 175–9.

10 *VE* i, prologue (pp. 4–5).

11 Barlow, *Life of King Edward*, pp. xxix–xxxiii (assigning book I to 1065–6 and book II to 1067). For the possibility that the Anonymous's representation of himself as writing across the Conquest is a fiction, see Monika Otter, '1066: The Moment of Transition in Two Narratives of the Norman Conquest', *Speculum* 74, 1999, 565–86 at 580.

12 The especially classicizing poems are *VE* i, 1, 2, and 5 and both prologues (pp. 2–9, 20–1, 26–9, 58–61, 84–91). *VE* shares the diverse nature of its poetry with the verse of Goscelin's prosimetrical *Vita Edithœ*; however, there is much greater metrical variety in the latter: Goscelin, *Vita Edithae*, ed. André Wilmart, in 'La Légende de S^te^ Édith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin', *Analecta Bollandiana* 56, 1938, 5–101 and 265–307.

13 Peter Dronke, *Verse with Prose from Petronius to Dante: The Art and Scope of the Mixed Form*, Cambridge MA 1994, 20.

be essential to the Anonymous as he narrates Edward's life for the preservation of Edith.

Despite the poetry being integral to the meaning of the *Vita*, it has suffered from its scholarly treatment. Historians have tended simply to ignore the poems in order to transform the text into a stable and usable source.[14] Until very recently, literary scholars have paid it almost no attention. The compelling readings of the poem by Victoria Jordan and Monika Otter have very perceptively and persuasively opened up the sophistication of the Anonymous's verse, thereby illuminating the integrity of the *Vita* as a text.[15] Here, I want to build on their work to bring together the study of the text with that of its context, both literary and social. The first main section of my paper will examine the fundamental dualism of the prose and poetry of book I of the *Vita* by focusing on the poet's use of allusions to classical poetry.[16] I approach these poems in a literary way by close reading, with attention to form and tradition. The *Vita* is a text which invites such an approach. With his poetic invocation of his muse, Clio, with his alternation of sections in verse and rhymed prose, and with his meta-narrative about the difficulty of writing for Edith, the Anonymous announces that he has written a literary piece. Artistry and meaning are carefully bound up to a degree that frustrates attempts to use the text as a reliable historical source and which demands a literary approach to its historicity.[17] Although attending to the text as artistic, I do not want to leave it sealed off in a literary bubble. In the second part of my paper, I will consider what kind of audience might have been able to engage with the *Vita*'s complexities. In putting text and context together in this way, I want to think about the *Vita* (including its poetry) as highly social and political.

At the beginning of his work, the Anonymous draws overt attention to the form of his text and to the way his prose and poetry make meaning in different ways. He writes:

> Carmine germano germanos plenius actus
>   alternans operis ordine pone modum.
> Et ne continuo ledatur musica cursu,
>   interdum proso carmina uerte gradu,
> pagina quo uario reparetur fessa relatu,
>   clarius et pateat historie series.

14 Pauline Stafford, in her seminal *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England*, Oxford 1997 [hereafter cited as *QEQE*], makes bare mention of the poetry in her account of the narrative. Barlow gives brief summaries of each poem and comments on their form. Both note that scholars have found the work confusing. Barlow attributes the text's apparent incoherence to the context in which it was written, while Stafford says the narrative finds coherence in the figure of Edith (Barlow, *Life of King Edward*, pp. xviii–xxviii; Stafford, *QEQE*, 40–8). Without the work of both these historians, any analysis of the poems would be impossible: my work here is indebted to them.

15 Eleanor K. Heningham, 'The Literary Unity, the Date, and the Purpose of the Lady Edith's Book: "The Life of King Edward who Rests in Westminster"', *Albion* 7, 1975, 24–40; Victoria B. Jordan, 'Chronology and Discourse in the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 8, 1998, 122–55; Otter, '1066'; Monika Otter, 'Closed Doors: An Epithalamium for Queen Edith, Widow and Virgin', in *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl, Basingstoke 1998, 63–92. Jordan assimilates the verse to book II's hagiographical concern with salvation history. Otter uses the poetry to draw out the text's meta-narrative and its engagement with themes of progeny and childlessness. Both focus on the religious dimensions of the poetry.

16 Barlow's edition of the *VE* and *Poetria Nova: A CD-ROM of Latin Medieval Poetry (650–1250 A.D.) with a Gateway to Classical and Late Antiquity Texts*, ed. Paolo Mastandrea and Luigi Tessarolo, Florence 2001, have been invaluable tools in identifying allusions.

17 Contrast J. L. Grassi, 'The *Vita Ædwardi Regis*: The Hagiographer as Insider', *ANS* 26, 2004 for 2003, 87–102.

In song fraternal deeds of brothers sing
With interchange of rhythm in the verse;
And, lest monotony should spoil the tune,
Set now and then your narrative in prose,
So that with shifts the weary page revives
And the events more lucidly appear.[18]

For the Anonymous, prose brings clarity of meaning (though whether he means what he writes is another question). In contrast, verse brings the opposite of clarity. Unlike the straightforward narrative of the prose, all the poems of the *Vita* – both the religious ones and the classicizing ones – require interpretation, and when interpreted, they often destabilize the message of the surrounding prose. To open up the destabilizing potential of these poems, which often involves the simultaneous invocation of Virgil, Lucan, Statius, and Ovid, I will look very closely at the first of the Anonymous's hexameters, where he brings the first three of these poets into play.

In prose, the Anonymous tells how Edward's coronation was attended by ambassadors from courts all over Europe. He then moves on in verse to recount that the nobles at Edward's court presented the new king with rival gifts. He portrays this gift-giving as a manifestation of the joy England experienced with the succession of Edward. Godwin's place as leading earl and hero of the *Vita* is proclaimed by his gift of a gold ship complete with 120 warriors.[19] The text of the poem reads:

Laudibus exortis   hinc grates concinat orbis,
et resonet mecum   tua musica gaudia rerum,
que lux de celo   rutilans in rege nouello
Anglis illuxit,   gemebundaque corda resoluit;
has quoque comicias qua leticia celebrarunt
festiui proceres,   certatim **dona ferentes**,
agnouere suum   regem magnumque patronum.
Multa dedere quidem, uerum supereminet omnes
larga ducis probitas Godwini munere tali:
scapha grauis, longa   laterum compage reducta
uerticibus binis,   sinibus stabat Tamesinis;
sedibus equato   numerosis ordine lato,
a media naui   despecto **uertice** mali,
centum bis denis   aptata minacibus heris.
Aureus e **puppi** leo prominet; ȩquora prore
celse pennato   per**terre**t corpore draco
aureus, et **linguis**   **flammam uomit ore trisulcis**.
Nobilis appensum   preciatur purpura uelum,
quo **patrum series**   depicta docet uarias **res**,
bellaque nobilium   turbata per equora regum.
Antemne grauidus   stipes roburque uolatus
sustinet, extensis   auro rutilantibus alis.

Let now with paeans of praise our music sound
The earth's thanksgivings and all nature's joy:
What heavenly dawn suffused the new-found king,
Lit England, and relieved the aching hearts.
With what delight the festive lords held court,

[18] *VE* i, prologue (pp. 8–9).

[19] On the artistry of the prose see my ' "When Wings Incarnadine with Gold are Spread": The *Vita Ædwardi Regis* and the Display of Treasure at the Court of Edward the Confessor', in *Treasure in the Medieval West*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler, York 2000, 83–107.

Presented rival gifts, and recognized
Their own illustrious patron, their own king.
Much did they give, but overtopped them all
Earl Godwin's sterling bounty with this gift:
A loaded ship, its slender lines raked up
In double prow, lay anchored on the Thames,
With many rowing-benches side by side,
The towering mast amidships looking down,
Equipped for six score fearsome warriors.
A golden lion crowns the stern. A winged
And golden dragon at the prow affrights
The sea, and belches fire with triple tongue.
Patrician purple pranks the hanging sail,
On which are shown th'instructive lineage
And the sea battles of our noble kings.
The yard-arm strong and heavy holds the sails
When wings incarnadine with gold are spread.[20]

Some key themes in this passage are obvious. The ship proclaims Godwin's status and particularly underscores his wealth. In his description of the sails, the Anonymous dwells on the illustrious English ancestry of Edward, celebrating the newly restored house of Wessex (after the period of Danish rule). The purple sails express the imperial and dynastic claims of Edward. Thus the Anonymous uses the ship to announce Godwin's status as leading magnate in the kingdom and to suggest that Edward's position is dependent both on Godwin and on his West Saxon lineage – important themes in the text. All this is self-evident. Attention to allusions to Virgil, Statius, and Lucan in this passage, however, reveals that the Anonymous was developing a much more nuanced view of Edward, Godwin, and Edith, although given the fragmentary nature of the poem, it will be difficult to draw final conclusions about this view.

The *Aeneid*, written during the reign of Caesar Augustus (Octavian), celebrates the foundation of Rome by the wandering Trojans led by Aeneas. Aeneas, of course, is held in Roman legend to be Augustus' ancestor. A central image of the poem is Aeneas' shield – given to him, along with a helmet, by his mother, Venus. Painted on the shield is the future history of Rome – all the way up to Augustus' triumphant entry into Rome as emperor; Virgil details these events in a famous ekphrasis (that is, the literary description of a work of art). Within the *Aeneid*, Aeneas' shield acts as a prophecy of glory to come.[21] Virgil describes Caesar Augustus as he is depicted, and thus foretold, on the shield of Aeneas, with these lines:

hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum **patribus** populoque, penatibus et magnis dis,
stans **celsa** in **puppi**, geminas cui tempora **flammas**
laeta **uomunt patrium**que aperitur **uertice** sidus.

On the one side Augustus Caesar stands on the lofty stern, leading Italians to strife, with Senate and People, the Penates of the state, and all the mighty

[20] *VE* i, 1 (pp. 20–1). To facilitate close reading of this poem, I have supplied line numbers (not in Barlow). Parallels to Virgil's *Aeneid* are marked in bold, to Lucan's *Civil War* with a single underline, and to Statius' *Thebaid* with a double underline.

[21] Virgil, *Aeneid*, in *P. Vergili Maronis opera*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1969, viii, 608–731. All translations are from *Aeneid*, ed. and trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, revised edn, 2 vols, Cambridge MA 1934; I have modernized some of the English. For an important discussion of the shield, including its prophetic mode, see Philip R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*, Oxford 1986, 336–76.

> gods; his auspicious brows shoot forth a double flame, and on his head dawns his father's star.[22]

Augustus stands at the prow of his ship as it enters into the battle of Actium – where he defeated Mark Antony and Cleopatra – on his way to sole control of the Roman Empire. The Anonymous picks up many words in his lines 10 to 20. The lexical parallels are marked in bold. These allusions link Edward to Aeneas and Caesar Augustus in a passage which celebrates Edward's lineage and dynasty.[23]

To appreciate fully what the Anonymous is doing here, however, we need to recognize the prominence of the language used to describe Augustus' helmet within the *Aeneid*. Just sixty lines earlier in book 8, Virgil used similar language to depict Aeneas' helmet as he discovered his mother Venus' gift:

> **terribilem cristis** galeam **flammas**que **uoment**em
>
> the helmet, terrifying with its plumes and spouting flames …[24]

Two books later, when Aeneas approaches Italy prepared for the decisive battle with Turnus, which will ensure the Trojan future of Rome, Virgil deploys the same imagery again. Aeneas stands on the lofty stern as Turnus on the shore catches sight of his distinctive helmet and shield:

> Iamque in conspectu Teucros habet et sua castra
> **stans celsa in puppi**, clipeum cum deinde sinistra
> extulit ardentem. clamorem ad sidera tollunt
> Dardanidae e muris, spes addita suscitat iras,
> …
> at Rutulo regi ducibusque ea mira uideri
> Ausoniis, donec uersas ad litora puppis
> respiciunt totumque adlabi classibus aequor.
> ardet apex capiti cristisque a **uertice flamma**
> funditur et uastos umbo **uomit aureus** ignis.
>
> And now, as he stands on the high stern, he had the Trojans and his camp in view, when at once he lifted high in his left hand his blazing shield. The Dardans from the walls raise a shout to the sky; fresh hope kindles wrath … But to the Rutulian king and the Ausonian captains these things seemed marvelous, till, looking back, they behold the shoreward-facing sterns, and the whole sea moving with the ships. On the hero's head the helmet peak blazes, and a dreadful flame streams from its top, and the shield's golden boss spouts floods of fire.[25]

Triple repetition ensures the prominence of the helmet within the *Aeneid* and thus the Anonymous is not drawing on an obscure passage but a memorable image. Importantly also, this repetition flags up the prophetic mode of the *Aeneid* – a poem which rewrites the legendary past of Rome so that it becomes a prophecy of the glory of the Empire. Temporally the *Aeneid* is complex: it projects a prophecy about Augustus and the Empire back into the past. A central dimension of this prophetic mode is that Virgil demands that his audience read allusively – that is by

22 Virgil, *Aeneid*, viii, 678–81.

23 The lion on Edward's ship provides a further connection to Aeneas' ship. When the Rutulians, led by Turnus, attack the Trojans, Aeneas having enlisted the support of the Etruscans, returns to his men: 'Aeneia puppis / prima tenet rostro Phrygios subiuncta leones.' ('Aeneas' ship takes the lead with Phrygian lions beneath her beak.') (Virgil, *Aeneid*, x, 156–7).

24 Virgil, *Aeneid*, viii, 620.

25 Ibid. x, 260–71.

paying attention to the way, within his own text, repetition functions as allusion.[26] By choosing to echo these three passages from the *Aeneid* in his description of Edward's boat, the Anonymous reveals that he understands and carries on Virgil's sophisticated use of repetition.[27]

There is, however, a sting in the tail in this set of allusions to the *Aeneid*. Virgil's repetitions look forward to the future glory of Rome, which is the exact opposite of what we find on Edward's sails. Because the Anonymous is describing these sails as everything is falling apart at the end of Edward's reign, the sails look backwards to what was, thus highlighting the fact that Edward was to be the end of the house of Wessex. At the same time, the sails suggest what could have been if only he had had children. The sails both mark the past glory of the West Saxon dynasty and prophesy its imminent end. Thus this apparently celebratory poem participates in the bleak prophetic mode of the text as a whole – most clearly evident when the Anonymous recounts Edward's vision of the Green Tree severed from its roots.[28]

This one example of the Anonymous's allusive style reveals that his use of Virgil is at once very overt and theoretically sophisticated. We should not imagine that his allusions to the *Aeneid* are simply a linguistic veneer, part of the language of poetry that does not mean anything. For example, he virtually excludes Virgilian allusions from the more religious verse of the *Vita*: our poet is fully in control of his language, showing an impressive capacity to keep classical allusion and echo out of his religious verse. In these poems the literary debt lies with Christian Latin poetry and the Bible. Allusions are carefully woven into the ideological meaning of the *Vita*.

There is an important methodological point to be made at this stage. In his use of Virgil, the Anonymous is not working metrically. This matters because we can observe here, where we are sure that the Anonymous has Virgil in mind, that he often draws on the earlier poet without concern for meter; the allusions are lexical and thematic. Thus in looking at other words, clusters of words, and phrases which the Anonymous picks up from classical poets, it is not necessary to reject them as allusions on the grounds they do not appear in the same metrical position as in their source. However, since such metrically identical allusions are much more secure evidence that one poet is using another, care must be taken in identifying a lexical overlap as an allusion. In calling shared lexis an allusion I have relied not just on the recurrence of a couple of words, but looked at thematic connections between the site of their occurrence in the original text and at how allusions to that classical text function within the *Vita* as a whole; an allusion is a conscious reference to another text, not simply an instance where the language of an earlier poet has been unconsciously assimilated.[29]

26 For recent literary studies of repetition and allusion in classical Latin poetry, see Jeffrey Wills, *Repetition in Latin Poetry: Figures of Allusion*, Oxford 1996; and Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*, Cambridge 1998.

27 I am assuming that the Anonymous read the *Aeneid* optimistically, as a celebration of Augustus and the Empire, rather than pessimistically, as critical of the cost of that triumph. For an introduction, with further bibliography, to the optimism-pessimism debate, see R. J. Tarrant, 'Poetry and Power: Virgil's Poetry in Contemporary Context', in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale, Cambridge 1997, 169–87 at 179–86.

28 Otter, '1066', 582–5.

29 For theoretical discussion of recurrence and allusion, which are, of course, not strictly distinguishable phenomena, see Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext*, 17–51, and work cited there. With reference to medieval Latin poetry, see Jean Meyers, *L'Art de l'emprunt dans la poésie de Sedulius Scottus*, Paris 1985, 35–8; and Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, Winchester Studies 4.ii, Oxford 2003, 342 note 52. I will discuss the methodology of the study of allusion further in my monograph.

A further complicating factor in understanding the lexical and metrical dimensions of the Anonymous's allusive style is that he is also drawing, in this poem, on the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. Emma's Encomiast also turned to book VIII of the *Aeneid* when he depicted Svein and Cnut setting out from Denmark to conquer England. The Encomiast alludes both to Aeneas' discovery of his mother Venus' gift of weapons and armour and to Octavian's ship as represented on the shield. Thus he represents the Danish conqueror of England as a second Aeneas founding a new kingdom and simultaneously as Octavian taking command of an empire.[30] The *Vita* poem includes echoes of the *Encomium*, echoes of the *Aeneid* which are also found in the *Encomium*, and echoes from the *Aeneid* which are not found in the *Encomium*. Thus, we know that the Anonymous both used the *Encomium* and went back to the *Aeneid* itself. Working from both the poem and from a prose text militates against a strictly metrical use of allusion. There is also, of course, an important thematic dimension to the Anonymous's rewriting of the sails of the conquering Cnut as those of the restored West Saxon monarch, Edward. The Anonymous knew what the Encomiast was doing; he responded to the *Encomium* and effectively poured derision on its prophecy of an Anglo-Danish empire.[31]

Having digressed to look at the *Encomium,* there are further echoes from Virgil which need to be considered. Both Statius' *Thebaid* and Lucan's *Civil War* also come into play. All of these echoes pull the focus away from Edward and, at the very moment when the poem is supposedly celebrating Edward's reign, remind the reader of Edith and her father Godwin. They also sound ominous, dark notes which, although they undermine the open celebration of the poem, pick up on the backward-looking sails. None of these echoes is as prominent as the very clear allusion to the armour of Aeneas and Augustus – and this lack of prominence will raise methodological issues which will be addressed as we proceed.

Virgilian allusion functions to bring Edith into the foreground. Line 19, 'quo **patrum series** depicta docet uarias **res**', recalls not only Aeneas' shield, as argued above, but perhaps also Dido's lineage – as depicted on her gold plate. Virgil writes:

> caelataque in auro
> fortia facta **patrum**, **series** longissima **rerum**
> per tot ducta uiros antiqua ab origine gentis.
>
> And in gold are graven the doughty deeds of her sires, a long, long course of exploits traced through many a hero from the early dawn of the race.[32]

Abandoned by Aeneas, Dido comes to a sad end. Having lamented that she is not pregnant with the son of Aeneas, she kills herself after her lover decides to pursue his imperial destiny. Do the lines allude to Edith's situation at Edward's death: childless and thus continuing neither the dynasty of her husband nor of her father? Does it remind us, again, of the potential glory if the house of Wessex and the house of Godwin had been joined? This is one of the many places in the poetry of the *Vita* where we glimpse the anguish of barrenness for Edith. While the prose assiduously avoids associating Edith's childlessness with the crisis of 1066, here as elsewhere the poetry in contrast reminds us that it is in part because she bore no children that there can be no prophecy of illustrious descendants such as we find on Aeneas' shield.[33]

30 Elizabeth M. Tyler, '"The Eyes of the Beholders were Dazzled": Treasure and Artifice in *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', *EME* 8, 1999, 247–70 at 257–65.
31 Tyler, 'When Wings Incarnadine', 92–6.
32 Virgil, *Aeneid*, i, 640–2.
33 See especially *VE* i, 6 (pp. 72–5) (the epithalamium) and Otter, 'Closed Doors'.

This possible allusion is less secure than the shield and helmet: *pater*, *series*, and *res* are all very common words and they are not used in the same metrical position as they were in the *Aeneid*. However, they do not commonly occur together in Latin verse. Moreover, there are also other allusions to Dido in other poems in the *Vita*.[34] She is a figure the poet circles around as he attempts to represent the personal and dynastic consequences not of 1066 but of the barren marriage of Edward and Edith.

The words *dona ferentes*, describing the gifts brought by the nobles, deserve our attention.[35] Being wary of Greeks bearing gifts, especially if the gift is a Trojan Horse, has of course, become a commonplace; as Virgil wrote:

> equo ne credite, Teucri.
> quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et **dona ferentis**.
>
> Men of Troy, trust not the horse. Whatever it be, I fear the Greeks, even when bringing gifts.[36]

This echo alone would mean little: *dona* and forms of *fero* occur together frequently in medieval and classical poetry and often in the last two feet of the hexameter as they do here. But *dona ferentes* is not isolated and must be seen as part of a tissue of destabilizing allusions which insist that the reader look askance at Godwin. For example, the fire-breathing dragon which adorns Edward's ship at line 17 ('**linguis** flammam uomit **ore trisulcis**') also comes, like the Greeks and the gifts, from the second book of the *Aeneid*, where Virgil, comparing the Greek Pyrrhus to a snake, writes 'et **linguis** micat **ore trisulcis**' ('and darting from his mouth a three-forked tongue').[37] This line occurs in the context of the massacre at Troy and the death of Priam, king of Troy, killed by Pyrrhus. Are we to construe these lines very subversively as recalling the destruction of Troy at just the point when the text appears to celebrate the restoration of the house of Wessex? Should we see the text as linking particular nobles at Edward's court, with Godwin in the lead, to Greeks bearing gifts? Should we see Godwin as a Pyrrhus figure – not literally killing Edward, but a threat to his rule? This seems very anti-Godwin for a text which calls him, in prose, the father of his country.[38] I think the answer to all these questions is 'yes'. It is, moreover, worth remembering that William of Malmesbury and John of Worcester claim that Godwin made a gift of just such a ship to Harthacnut in order to expiate himself from a role in the murder of Edward's brother (and Harthacnut's half-brother) Alfred.[39] This ekphrasis of Godwin's gift to Edward participates in a network of claims and counterclaims about this event. This passage alerts us that Edith's relationship with her natal family was at least as complex as her relationship with Edward, and suggests that a text which was written at her instigation might have a rather particular take on the Godwins.

Edith and a discredited Godwin are held in view by echoes from Lucan and Statius. Where the *Aeneid* celebrates the Empire as the culmination of Roman history, Lucan's violent and despairing poem recounts with horror the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey which marked the end of the Republic. Although written in verse, Lucan, whose subject matter was recent history, was often consid-

34 Tyler, *Crossing Conquests*.
35 *VE* i, 1 (line 6).
36 Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii, 48–9.
37 Ibid. ii, 475.
38 'a cunctis patrię filiis pro patre colebatur' ('was revered by all the country's sons as a father') and 'pro patre ab omnibus habebatur' ('was regarded as a father by all'): *VE* i, 1 (pp. 10–11, 14–15).
39 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 188 (I, 338–9) and John of Worcester, II, 530–1, *s.a.* 1040.

ered to be an historian in the Middle Ages: within the commentary tradition, Lucan is a touchstone in debates about the boundary between history and poetry.[40] The Anonymous's use of Lucan is thus relevant on the meta-poetic as well as thematic level.

Lucan's *Civil War*, both the story it recounts and its use of poetry for history, is not recondite. The Anonymous signals both his use of this story and his debt to its poetic form when, in the verse prologue to book II, he writes:

> nunc hostile nefas in fratrum uiscera torrens
> confundit letam carminis historiam;
> Emathium furiis ciuili peste regressum –
> heu germana nimis pectora dura – tulit.
>
> But now the hate which sears the brothers' flesh
> Confounds the joyful progress of the song;
> With raging civil war Thessalian change
> It got. Alas, those brothers' hearts too hard![41]

Not only is history recounted here in song, the reference to 'Emathium … regressum' recalls the key battle of the *Civil War*. With the Anonymous's signposted use of Lucan in mind, let us return to the poem which recounts Godwin's gift.[42] The words *gaudia rerum*, which occur at the end of line 2 of the *Vita* poem, also appear at the end of a line in book ten of Lucan's *Civil War*:

> pax ubi parta ducis donisque ingentibus empta est,
> excepere epulae tantarum gaudia rerum,
> explicuitque suos magno Cleopatra tumultu
> nondum translatos Romana in saecula luxus.
>
> When Caesar's favour was gained and bought by mighty gifts, so joyful an event was followed by a feast; great was the bustle, as Cleopatra displayed her magnificence – a magnificence which Roman society had not yet adopted.[43]

Unlike *dona ferentes*, *gaudia rerum* is not common poetic diction. The context of the line in the *Civil War* is not, moreover, without relevance to the *Vita*. *Gaudia rerum* occurs as Cleopatra, bearing lavish gifts, attempts to seduce Julius Caesar in lines which follow on from an extended explanation of how her father married her to her brother (Ptolemy) so that they could rule together. Cleopatra and gifts turn up again in this short poem from the *Vita* with the phrase *munere tali* (line 9) which again takes us back to the *Civil War*. Lucan tells us that Caesar feigned grief when he was presented with the head of his rival Pompey, killed by Cleopatra's brother. Weeping crocodile tears, Caesar tells the messenger bearing the head:

> quod si Phario germana tyranno
> non inuisa foret, potuissem reddere regi
> quod meruit, fratrique tuum pro munere tali
> misissem, Cleopatra, caput.

40 Peter von Moos, '*Poeta* und *historicus* im Mittelalter: Zum Mimesis-Problem am Beispiel einiger Urteile über Lucan', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 98, 1976, 93–130.
41 *VE* ii, prologue (pp. 84–5).
42 On the poetics of 'signposted' allusion, see Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext*, 1–16.
43 Lucan, *Belli ciuilis: libri decem*, ed. A. E. Housman, Oxford 1926, x, 107–10. Parallels are underlined. All translations are from *The Civil War*, ed. and trans. J. D. Duff, Cambridge MA 1928.

> If the king of Egypt did not hate his sister, I might have made a fitting return for such a gift by sending him the head of Cleopatra.[44]

In looking at these two allusions to Lucan's *Civil War,* the situation of the Godwins in the 1060s does not seem far away: Edith and Edward have had no children and two of Godwin's sons are manoeuvring – with Edith's support – to succeed Edward. Edith is no Cleopatra figure here (unless the *Vita* is written very much against her interests), rather the Anonymous offers a contrast between chaste Edith and the notorious, but very fertile, Cleopatra. Married to her brother, she claimed that her son was Caesar's and she later bore twins to Mark Antony. At the same time, the Anonymous may here allow a glimpse of the way claims of sexual impropriety can be used to undermine women and hint that Edith was accused of having set the northern rebellion in train when she had Gospatric murdered to her brother Tostig's advantage.[45]

The *Civil War* comes into view again when we look at line 7 in the poem from the *Vita*: 'agnouere suum regem magnumque patronum'. This line may echo the phrase *agnouere suos* which occurs in Lucan's book IV; the expression is not common. In the *Civil War* the phrase occurs as the two camps of Romans literally face each other:

> iam iam ciuilis Erinys
> concidet et Caesar generum priuatus amabit.
> nunc ades, aeterno conplectens omnia nexu,
> o rerum mixtique salus *Concordia* mundi
> et sacer orbis amor: magnum nunc saecula nostra
> uenturi discrimen habent. periere latebrae
> tot scelerum, populo uenia est erepta nocenti:
> agnouere suos.

> Then in a moment the frenzy of civil war will collapse, and Caesar, in private station, will be friends with his daughter's husband. Be present now, you who embrace all things in an eternal bond, Harmony, the preserver of the world and the blended universe! Be present, you hallowed Love that unites the world! For at this moment our age can exercise a mighty influence upon the future. The disguise of all that wickedness has been torn off, and a guilty nation has been robbed of all excuse: the men have recognised their kinsmen.[46]

The men on the opposing sides of the Roman civil war find themselves horrified that they are about to kill each other. Lucan moralizes that they could have chosen to stop what he calls the 'civil Erinys' and then Caesar would have had to make friends with Pompey. Erinys is one of the Furies; she is associated with murder within a family or clan – the term can be used appellatively, as here, to denote frenzy and madness. Lucan asks that Harmony (*Concordia*) be present and that she allow the men, who recognize their own, 'agnouere suos', to turn away from the brink of war. If the connections between this passage and the *Vita* rested solely on the identification of 'agnouere suum' with 'agnouere suos', the link would be tenuous. However, in a later poem in the *Vita Ædwardi, Erinys* and *Concordia* reappear together when the Anonymous laments the horror that is going to unfold when Tostig and Harold fall out – when civil war envelops England. In that poem, Edith is clearly figured as *Concordia*.

44 Lucan, *Civil War*, ix, 1068–71.
45 Stafford, *QEQE*, 45–6, 271–2.
46 Lucan, *Civil War*, iv, 187–94.

Succurre, deifica custos,
sancta fides, lotis baptismate, crismate tactis;
infer signa crucis, Herebique fugetur **Erynis**.
Tuque boni fomes primi, uia prima salutis,
non con<n>ecte tibi per uinc<u>la federis almi,
sedans pace tua, mater, **concordia** sancta,
ne de pignore regali seu stirpe fideli
ignis perpetuam stipulam sibi rideat hostis
collegisse suis incendia longa fauillis.

Aid, guardian spirit
And holy faith, the baptized and the chrismed,
And banish with the Cross the gods of Hell [Erebus and **Erinys**].
You, tinder of first good, first way of life,
Embrace us in your bonds of loving troth;
O mother, Holy Concord, soothe with peace,
Lest from the royal kin and loyal stock
The hostile fire should laugh to have procured
An endless stubble – fuel for its sparks.[47]

Turning now to Statius' *Thebaid*, we uncover further dark notes amidst the account of the festivities for Edward's coronation. The *Thebaid*, which recounts the conflict between Polynices and Eteocles (the sons of Oedipus) for control of Thebes, presents a grim epic of fratricide and war without winners. As in his use of Lucan, the Anonymous draws his reader's attention to his debt to Statius. In the prologue to book II, when the Anonymous, falling into despair, turns weeping to his muse, he explicitly denotes his story of fratricide as a Theban song:

et nunc Thebaidos fedo sub scemate carmen
hoc opus horrenti discipulo retegis.

And now
You show your shrinking pupil that his work
Becomes a Theban song with horrid form.[48]

And he refers, just a few lines later, to how the 'prisca canunt' ('ancients sang') about Cadmus' sowing of the seeds from which the Thebans sprang. Earlier, in the same poem in which he invoked Erinys and Concord, the Anonymous grieves that Fortune had 'Thebanis accincta rogis' ('set for Theban pyres') Harold and Tostig.[49] Within Statius' poem, these two pyres are highly memorable. Thebes is an interpretative framework which the poet, troubled by the task of writing history, asks his audience to use: allusions to the story of Thebes are not an obscure bit of classical learning but an overt part of his text's meaning.[50]

Now to look at allusion to Statius in the Anonymous's description of Godwin's spectacular gift. The Anonymous's phrase *despecto vertice* may also take us back to Statius, where it occurs in the same metrical position:

at pedes et toto despectans uertice bellum
quattuor indomitis Capaneus erepta iuuencis
terga superque rigens iniectu molis aenae

[47] *VE* i, 5 (pp. 60–1). On the theme of discord and concord, see Jordan, 'Chronology and Discourse', esp. 136–53.
[48] *VE* ii, prologue (pp. 84–5).
[49] *VE* i, 5 (pp. 58–9)
[50] See above, note 42.

uersat onus; squalet triplici ramosa corona
Hydra recens obitu: pars anguibus aspera uiuis
argento caelata micat, pars arte reperta
conditur et fuluo moriens nigrescit in auro;
circum amnis torpens et ferro caerula Lerna.
at laterum tractus spatiosaque pectora seruat
nexilis innumero Chalybum subtemine thorax,
horrendum, non matris, opus.

But Capaneus, on foot and looking down by a whole head's height upon the host, wields the burden of four hides torn from the backs of untamed steers and stiffened above with a covering of massy bronze; there lies the Hydra with triple-branching crown, lately slain and foul in death: part, embossed in silver, glitters fierce with moving snakes, part by a cunning device is sunken, and grows dark in the death agony against the tawny gold; around, in dark-blue steel runs the torpid stream of Lerna. His long flanks and spacious breast are guarded by a corselet woven of iron threads innumerable, a work inspiring terror, no mother's task.[51]

This passage occurs as the Argives, supporting Polynices, head off into war against Thebes, whose throne Eteocles has wrongfully retained. The Argives depart despite their seer prophesying their destruction. As the Argives set off, Statius catalogues each of their seven leaders and their troops. In the lines quoted here, he describes Capaneus looking down on the dead Hydra. The monstrous giant snake, with its triple crown, is said to be covered with bronze, silver, and gold, and with moving snakes. As can be seen from comparing the passage from the *Thebaid* to the poem from the *Vita*, other words and themes recur: *aurum*, *latus*, *numerus*, and a term for triple. Both the Hydra and Edward's boat strike terror. As with the allusions to the *Aeneid*, prophecy is again at issue – but here we do not have an inverted allusion to the future glory of Rome but a sombre recollection of the destruction of both brothers in the struggle for the throne of Thebes. Although the killing of the Hydra is one of Hercules' twelve famous labours, in this poem we have Edward's boat compared to the dead Hydra, gazed on by a soon to be dead Argive leader. By itself, this simple echo would mean nothing, but in the context of other allusions to Statius' epic within the *Vita* and the Anonymous's explicit references to the *Thebaid*, it does. The centrality of the imagery of monstrosity, especially snake-like monstrosity, both to the poetry of the *Vita* and to the *Thebaid* further anchors this allusion into the passage under discussion here.

The interweaving of Virgil, Statius, and Lucan which we find in the secular poems of the *Vita* creates a very unstable text – Virgil's triumphant epic of empire is combined with Lucan's counter-epic of the civil war. Adding Statius to the mix puts fratricide (Harold and Tostig's rivalry which results ultimately in both their deaths) at the centre of this instability. This interweaving mirrors the generic instability of the *Vita* as a whole: where poetry and prose work against each other and where historiography collapses into hagiography. We could see this as a jumble, a muddle – an author who did not know what he was doing, who changed his text as circumstances changed, and as a result lost control. The classical allusions in the poem from the first chapter of the *Vita* illustrate that in fact the contrary is the case; the *Vita* is a highly sophisticated text which insists, from the outset, that it must be read

[51] *P. Papini Stati Thebaidos libri XII*, ed. D. E. Hill, Leiden 1996, iv, 165–73. Parallels are marked by double underlining. All translations are from *Thebaid*, ed. and trans. J. H. Mozley, 2 vols, Cambridge MA 1928.

allusively to be interpreted and that its chaotic and self-contradictory form and its invocation of unreconcilable intertexts are part of its meaning. It is worth pausing to recognize what an interesting phenomenon the *Vita* presents: an example of history written with a purpose, the support of Edith, but which does not know the outcome of the events it narrates: it is history without being teleology, and thus leaves its modern reader frustrated. The Anonymous himself incorporates the disorientation involved in history without teleology into his meta-narrative and thus a potential generic crisis becomes part of the substance of his text.[52] The resulting sophistication of the *Vita* situates it squarely within emerging debates about the relationship of history and poetry which will be at the heart of twelfth-century theorizing about fiction and at the heart of the debate about the Norman Conquest.[53] As William of Poitiers memorably wrote in his *Gesta*:

> Parturire suo pectore bella quae calamo ederentur poetis licebat, atque amplificare utcumque cognita per campos figmentorum diuagando. Nos ducem, siue regem, cui nunquam impure quid fuit pulchrum, pure laudabimus, nusquam a ueritatis limite passu uno delirantes.

> Poets were allowed to imagine wars so that they could write about them, and to amplify their knowledge in any way they liked by roaming through the fields of fiction. But we will purely and simply praise the duke or king, to whom nothing impure was beautiful, never taking a single step beyond the bounds of truth.[54]

At the same time, the unstable form of the *Vita* conveys the practical difficulty of writing for Edith across the fast-paced change of 1065–7 which saw the northern rebellion, the death of Edward, the short reign of Harold, the alliance of Tostig and Harold Hardrada, the battle of Hastings, and Edith's accommodation with William the Conqueror. The political and social challenge of defending Edith in this shifting landscape is part of the reason why the Anonymous finds himself in self-conscious meta-poetic reflection on the relationship of verse and prose – ideas of fiction have a social and a political dimension.

Before turning to the social networks in which the *Vita* is embedded, the Anonymous's use of Ovid needs to be mentioned briefly. Ovid does not appear in the poem marking Edward's coronation, but allusions to his work are prominent in the verses in which the poet addresses his muse at the beginning of each book. They are also evident in the very enigmatic poem which follows the one we have been discussing.[55] In this poem Godwin is the source of four rivers which become a tree. One of the rivers/branches then turns into a monster which devours the tree's roots.[56]

52 For meta-narrative, see Otter, '1066', 580.

53 The birth of fiction in the twelfth century has long been associated with vernacular romance, see esp. Franz H. Bäuml, 'Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Speculum* 55, 1980, 237–65; Per Nykrog, 'The Rise of Literary Fiction', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, Oxford 1982, 593–612; Suzanne Fleischmann, 'On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages', *History and Theory* 22, 1983, 278–310; Walter Haug, *Vernacular Literary Theory in the Middle Ages: The German Tradition, 800–1300, in its European Context*, trans. Joanna M. Catling, Cambridge 1997, 91–106; Päivi Mehtonen, *Old Concepts and New Poetics: Historia, Argumentum, and Fabula in the Twelfth- and Early Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetics of Fiction*, Helsinki 1996; and D. H. Green, *The Beginnings of Medieval Romance: Fact and Fiction, 1150–1220*, Cambridge 2002.

54 Poitiers, c. 20 (pp. 28–9). For discussion, see Francine Mora-Lebrun, *L'Enéide médiévale and la naissance du roman*, Paris 1994, 42–4.

55 *VE* i, 2 (pp. 26–9).

56 The image can be compared to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, xii, 13–23 (ed. W. S. Anderson, Leipzig 1982), where a serpent crawls up a tree and seizes eight young nestlings. The serpent, coiled around the

Although both Otter and Jordan have identified how its imagery – stream, tree, monster – is central to the *Vita*, this morphing image continues to puzzle readers of the *Vita*.[57] It becomes less confusing, I think, when we realize that the image illustrates very overtly that metamorphosis was a way of thinking, an interpretative framework, for the Anonymous. Distinctively, the Anonymous suppresses or avoids the Ovidian erotics which would become so popular in subsequent centuries.[58] He does this so carefully that he reveals himself to be a poet who, although fully aware of the erotic potential of Ovid, deliberately and cleverly excludes it in order not to undermine his representation of Edith and Edward's marriage as chaste.

Ovid can help us to see how the *Vita* connects to Continental literary culture. The Anonymous's use of Ovid places him on the cutting edge of a revolution in Latin poetry which saw it engage with secular life, love, and women. This Ovidian poetics flowered fully in the twelfth century when it fed into the beginnings of French vernacular poetry. The key figures in this revolution are the group of poets often called the Loire School – Marbod of Rennes (1035–1123), Baudri of Bourgueil (1045/6–1130), and Hildebert of Lavardin (1056–1133). Their influence extended far beyond the Loire to many named and unnamed poets. Among the named is Godfrey of Rheims (1025/40–1095) – Saint-Bertin (from which the Anonymous appears to come) is in the archdiocese of Rheims.[59] Because some of it is classicizing, secular in theme, and written for lay patrons, the verse of the Loire poets is seen as a crucial stage in the development of secular literature, in both Latin and French, for lay audiences in twelfth-century France.[60]

The anonymous poet of the *Vita* needs to be situated within this school of poets. Like the poets of the Loire, writing in the following decades, our poet champions the truth-value of Roman myth. After referring to the story of Thyestes and Tantalus (another classical myth of murderous – this time cannibalistic – family strife), and mentioning the Theban pyres, the Anonymous writes:

> Hęcine gentilis sine re descripserit error?
> Doctrinę plenum figmentum tale probatur.
> Hanc cladem reprobat   scriptura uetus, noua dampnat,
> atque caret uenia   fratris diuturnior ira.
>
> Would pagan error without fact write thus?
> The story full of lessons earns our trust.

branches of the tree, then turns to stone. The Anonymous's verses share lexis with Ovid's and the parallel may underscore the snake-like nature of the monster from the *Vita*. *Metamorphoses*, xv, 75–95 may also come into play; there Ovid puns by using present participles of *animare* twice within a line, just as the Anonymous uses *animal* and *animata* within a line.

57 Barlow, *Life of King Edward*, 26–7 note 57; Otter, 'Closed Doors', 79–82; Jordan, 'Chronology and Discourse', 142–4.

58 Gerald A. Bond, *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France*, Philadelphia 1995, 42–69.

59 There is literary as well as ecclesiastical exchange between the monastery and its archiepiscopal see, as for example attested by the letters to Archbishop Wido which Abbot Bovo prefaces to his 1052 *Relatio de inventione et elevatione S. Bertini*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH Scriptores 15.1, Hanover 1887, 524–34 at 525–6.

60 For some of their poems see Marbod, *Carmina varia*, *PL* 171, cols 1647–86 (1st series) and 1717–36 (2nd series); Baudri of Bourgueil, *Poèmes*, ed. and trans. Jean-Yves Tilliette, 2 vols, Paris 1998–2002; and Hildebert, *Carmina minora: editio altera*, ed. A. B. Scott, Munich 2001. For critical studies see Ralph Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling*, Munich 1986; Bond, *Loving Subject*, 42–69; and Jean-Yves Tilliette, '*Troiae ab oris*: aspects de la révolution poétique de la seconde moitié du XIe siècle', *Latomus* 58, 1999, 405–31.

> Old Scripture blames this scourge, the New condemns:
> No pardon for a brother's hate too long.[61]

There is, moreover, much linguistic similarity between the Anonymous's poetry and that of Marbod, Hildebert, Baudri, and the lesser-known Fulcious of Beauvais.[62] Given the date of the *Vita*, the Anonymous was neither peripheral nor a latecomer to the Loire School, but rather among its innovators.[63] Baudri's famous historical poem for William the Conqueror's daughter Adela, countess of Blois, was, for instance, not written until 1085 at the earliest.[64] Some twenty years later, this poem poses much the same question about how the truth of Holy Scripture and the Roman story-world are to be discerned, understood, and used to interpret the present.[65]

While it is tempting to see the *Vita* – with its Flemish author and its links with Loire School poetry – as a Continental text that was written for an English queen almost by accident, the Anonymous's reading, which included the poetry of Wulfstan Cantor and Frithegod and especially Emma's *Encomium*, points to an author who drew from an English literary tradition.[66] The *Encomium*, with its figuring of Cnut as a second Aeneas and Emma as Octavian (Virgil's patron), also reminds us that Edith was following in her mother-in-law's footsteps in expecting that a classicizing text could improve her situation at court.[67] We might want to attribute the Anonymous's use of the *Encomium* to Saint-Bertin connections (the Encomiast is said to come from this foundation too). However, the active patronage both women exerted over their texts provides an Anglo-Saxon context within which to situate the Anonymous's response to the *Encomium*. Moreover, as Elisabeth van Houts has recently emphasized, lay literary patronage was something Flemish clerics did not enjoy in the eleventh century – the circumstances which fostered a lay woman's patronage of an exceptionally learned and imaginative cleric were those of the late Anglo-Saxon court.[68]

Emma and Edith were not just informants; they exerted an influence over the allusive style of their texts.[69] Although clearly captivated by stories of Troy, neither the *Encomium* nor the *Vita* claims Trojan origins for Cnut or Edward. Their authors thus respected English sensibilities (unusually in western Europe, Anglo-Saxon kings traced their ancestry back to euhemerized Germanic gods and biblical figures) which were more likely to be their patrons' concerns than their own. In both cases, then, we see lay people, lay *women*, exerting control over how classical learning was used.[70] Moreover, and this is important, the *Encomium* illustrates the currency of

61 *VE* i, 5 (pp. 60–1).

62 I will detail these parallels in my forthcoming *Crossing Conquests.*

63 Contrast with Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, 10–11.

64 Kimberly A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c. 1067–1137)*, Dublin 2007, 482–3.

65 Baudri, II, 134 (esp. lines 141–4 and 221). For an English translation of the poem, see Monika Otter, 'Baudri of Bourgueil, "To Countess Adela"', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 11, 2001, 60–141.

66 See my *Crossing Conquests*.

67 For Cnut, see above p. 143; and for Emma, see *Encomium*, argumentum (pp. 6–7), and Stafford, *QEQE*, 28–52.

68 Elisabeth van Houts, 'The Flemish Contribution to Biographical Writing in England in the Eleventh Century', in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton, Woodbridge 2006, 111–27. (I am grateful to Dr van Houts for kindly sharing this article in typescript.)

69 Stafford, *QEQE*, 28; Campbell, *Encomium*, pp. xxxvii and 94–7; Andy Orchard, 'The Literary Background to the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 11, 2001, 157–84 at 164–6 and 173; Barlow, *Life of King Edward*, pp. lix–lxi.

70 Tyler, 'Talking about History', 377–8; eadem, 'From Old English to Old French'; David N. Dumville, 'Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists', in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood,

the Roman story-world at court at least some twenty-five years before the Conquest. One of my points in bringing the *Encomium* in is to emphasize that an audience such as that required by the *Vita Ædwardi* did not spring up overnight, on the cusp of the Conquest; rather it emerged over many decades. Evidently, Anglo-Saxon court literary culture in the middle decades of the eleventh century was advanced. We are not dealing with texts such as Dudo's *De moribus*, which, while produced at the behest of dukes Richard I and Richard II of Normandy, was written for (and to impress) a clerical audience outside the duchy.[71] For either text to have furthered the position of its vulnerable patron amidst dynastic change, it had to have an audience – and not one made up solely of English, or Flemish, clerics.

Looking at Virgil, Statius, Lucan, and Ovid suggests that the *Vita Ædwardi* was simultaneously a sophisticated text situated at the vanguard of developments in Latin poetry in western Europe and rooted in an English literary tradition. The critical question now is whose sophistication it represents: the Anonymous's or Edith's? Who is the audience for this text? Written to further Edith's interests amidst the turmoil of 1065–7, the *Vita* could not have done that if no one read it or understood it. The Anonymous himself imagines two audiences – one for the *laus* (praise) of Edith, and then Edith herself who will 'leget atque relecta reuoluet' ('she will read, re-read, and brood').[72] The very public, and thus in this context political, act of praising Edith is to the fore in the prologue to book I, while consolation for Edith comes to the fore in the prologue to book II. The text's sophistication does not push the text away from Edith or away from it being a social and political text intended to have an impact on her difficult situation. Edith's patronage of a poet across the turmoil of 1065–7 suggests that she saw literary culture as part of the political arena. To be efficacious within such an arena, her text needed not only an author and a patron, but also an audience who were at once educated and engaged with the events the *Vita* attempts to order.

The *Vita*'s patron and the women around her offer an obvious starting point – but one which has not been considered. Edith was educated at the Anglo-Saxon royal nunnery at Wilton, where she may have returned when Edward repudiated her in 1051. She was certainly the patron of the church dedicated there in 1065, and retired there after the Conquest.[73] From the beginning of the tenth century, Anglo-Saxon royal nunneries developed a role as schools for elite women, some attaining high standards of Latinity. Towards the end of that century, we know that King Edgar engaged tutors from Rheims and Trier to teach his daughter St Edith at Wilton.[74] Queen Edith's own learning is attested to not only by the Anonymous, but also by the author of the Life of St Kenelm (possibly Goscelin), Folcard, Godfrey of

Leeds 1977, 72–104 at 77–96; Francis Ingledew, 'The Book of Troy and the Genealogical Construction of History: The Case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*', *Speculum* 69, 1994, 665–704 at 685; Matthew Innes, 'Teutons or Trojans? The Carolingians and the Germanic Past', in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Yitzak Hen and Matthew Innes, Cambridge 2000, 227–49 at 248–9.

71 Dudo, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniæ ducum*, ed. J. Lair, Caen 1865–72. Lars Boje Mortensen, 'Stylistic Choice in a Reborn Genre: The National Histories of Widukind of Corvey and Dudo of Saint-Quentin', in *Dudone di San Quintino*, ed. P. Gatti and A. Degl'Innocenti, Trent 1995, 77–102 at 88–92 and 100–1.

72 *Laus* and *laudo* occur repeatedly in the opening poems of book I, *VE* i, prologue (pp. 2–9). For Edith's re-reading of the text, *VE* ii, prologue (pp. 90–1). Otter ('Closed Doors', esp. 62–3) persuasively presents the Anonymous as writing to console Edith; this private mode can exist alongside a more public and political one.

73 Stafford, *QEQE*, 262, 264–5, 269–70.

74 Goscelin, *Vita Edithae*, c. 7 (p. 50).

Winchester, and William of Malmesbury.[75] Wilton prepared women not only to be nuns but to be members of the leading Anglo-Saxon royal and aristocratic families. We might think of Wilton as the Quedlinburg of England.[76] The text itself mentions Wilton several times, most significantly when the construction and dedication of the nunnery are given greater prominence than those of Edward's more famous foundation at Westminster. The epithalamium, the final poem of book I, moreover, figures Edith metonymically as the new church at Wilton.[77] The *Vita*, in contrast to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, claims that Edith was banished to Wilton rather than Wherwell (where Edward's sister was abbess) in 1051.[78] Looking at Wilton can help us better appreciate the nature of Edith's learning and the possibility that a wider circle of women could have appreciated the *Vita Ædwardi*.[79]

Two texts with strong Wilton connections open up the literary learning of these women. Both were written *c.* 1080 by Goscelin (yet another Flemish monk from Saint-Bertin). Stephanie Hollis has convincingly argued that Goscelin wrote his life of St Edith for the Wilton community.[80] The text's discourses of virginity share much in common with those of the *Vita* and remind us that our Wilton-educated Edith may have been predisposed to see virginity as a way to redeem her childless marriage.[81] Moreover the Life of Edith is prosimetrical – the only one of Goscelin's many saints' Lives to include poetry – perhaps he chose this form conscious of the Wilton women's well attested (as we shall see) interest in verse.

Also relevant is Goscelin's *Liber confortatorius*, written for the nun Eve, an Englishwoman of Lotharingian and Danish parentage who entered Wilton as a child by 1065. The *Liber* is a text of spiritual guidance, which reveals Goscelin's respect both for Eve's intellectual capacity and for her Latinity. He recommends that she read the Bible and the Fathers, and refers to classical writers. Included in his reading list is Orosius' history – was this compendium of Roman history (alongside Greek, Persian, and Babylonian) known at Wilton? He also presents Eve with Aeneas as one who figuratively undertook a spiritual journey; thus Goscelin assumes that Eve knew who Aeneas was, that his story meant something to her. Likewise he refers to the Trojan journey to Italy and assures her that her hermitage exceeds Octavian's

75 *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, in *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, ed. and trans. Rosalind C. Love, Oxford 1996, 49–89 at 50–3; Folcard, *Vita Sancti Johannis, episcopi Eboracensis*, in *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. James Raine, 3 vols, RS 71, 1879–94, I, 239–60 at 240 (if the queen is Edith and not Matilda: Barlow, *Life of King Edward*, pp. lv–lvi); Godfrey of Winchester, in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, ed. Thomas Wright, 2 vols, RS 59, London 1872, II, 149; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 197 (I, 352–3).

76 *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber Confortatorius*, ed. Stephanie Hollis, Turnhout 2004, 307–38; Stafford, *QEQE*, 257–9; Barbara Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, London 2003, 72–186; Jane Stevenson, 'Anglo-Latin Women Poets', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols, Toronto 2005, II, 86–107 at 86–94. Hollis' work is critical for understanding Wilton.

77 *VE* i, 6 (pp. 70–5); Otter, 'Closed Doors'.

78 *VE* i, 3 (pp. 36–7); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, 7, MS. E*, ed. Susan Irvine, Cambridge 2004, *s.a.* 1048 (p. 82).

79 Although Bloch's dating of the *Vita* to the twelfth century has been discredited, the centrality of the nunnery within the *VE* was cited by Bloch in his argument that the text was composed for Wilton: Marc Bloch, 'La Vie de s. Édouard le confesseur par Osbert de Clare', *Analecta Bollandiana* 41, 1923, 5–131 at 40–4; Barlow, *Life of King Edward*, pp. xxix–xxx.

80 *Wilton Women*, ed. Hollis, 11–12, 217–80. For Goscelin's career, see Barlow, *Life of King Edward*, 133–49.

81 Compare especially the epithalamium, *VE* i, 6 (pp. 72–5). Otter, 'Closed Doors'.

Roman Empire.[82] Eve draws our attention back to the Loire again. Goscelin wrote his *Liber* for Eve after she had left Wilton for a hermitage in Angers. Her hermitage was not an insignificant French retreat but rather attached to the nunnery of Le Ronceray whose nuns were the poetic correspondents of Baudri and Hildebert.[83] Perhaps something other than desire for solitude drew the exceptionally literate Eve there.

Moving forward to the decades after the Conquest, Wilton retains its reputation as a centre of learning. Edith-Matilda, the Anglo-Saxon princess and learned wife of Henry I, was educated at Wilton at the end of the eleventh century. Among the other highly educated women of Wilton, a *fœcunda versibus urbs* ('city eloquent in poetry') according to Serlo of Bayeux, was the poet Muriel.[84] She appears to have come from Le Ronceray. Her poetry was praised by Baudri and Hildebert, as well as Serlo. The presence of these women at Wilton shows that Edith was not likely to be the only woman there capable of reading Latin poetry. When she returned to Wilton after the death of Edward the Confessor, she was joining a community which included other educated Latinate women who could have formed an audience for the poems of the *Vita*.

The Wilton community in the years after 1066 would also have included women who were players in Edith's story. Like other Anglo-Saxon royal nunneries, Wilton became a refuge for elite Anglo-Saxon women after the Conquest. Among those who found safety at Wilton was Gunnhild, daughter of Harold Godwinson. Gunnhild's education is suggested by her ambition (thwarted) to become abbess of Wilton and by the excoriating letters Anselm sent her when she eloped with Count Alan the Red. Stephanie Hollis suggests that Margaret, the learned sister of Edgar Ætheling, who went on to marry King Malcolm of Scotland, was educated there. In the next generation she certainly sent her daughters Edith-Matilda and Mary to the nunnery. Edith-Matilda, claimed by William of Malmesbury as the instigator of his *Gesta regum* and presented as a great literary patron, received poetry from the Loire poets. It is tempting to speculate that Edith's sister Gunnhild, who fled to the Continent in 1068 and died a nun at Bruges, was also a Wilton woman or the product of another of the Anglo-Saxon royal nunneries.[85]

The women who were or may have been at Wilton in the decades around the Conquest suggest the presence of a community of women both engaged with Edith's

82 Goscelin, *Liber confortatorius*, ed. C. H. Talbot, in *Analecta Monastica* 3rd series 37, 1955, 1–117 (her parentage: 41, recommended reading: 79–83, Aeneas: 88, Trojans: 41, Octavian: 77–8).

83 Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (†203) to Marguerite Porete (†1310)*, Cambridge 1984, 84–91; Gabriela Signori, 'Muriel and the Others … or Poems as Pledges of Friendship', in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine, Stroud 1999, 199–212; *Wilton Women*, ed. Hollis, 229.

84 Serlo of Bayeux's poem to Muriel in *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets,* ed. Wright, II, 233 (line 3). J. S. P. Tatlock, 'Muriel, the Earliest English Poetess', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 48, 1933, 317–21; Stevenson, 'Anglo-Latin Women Poets', 95–100; Signori, 'Muriel and Others', dissents, placing Muriel at Le Ronceray.

85 *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols, Edinburgh 1946–61, IV, 42–50 (letters 168–9); Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, letters 1–2; i, prologue; c. 418 (I, 2–9, 14–15, 756–7). André Boutemy, 'Deux poèmes inconnus de Serlon de Bayeux et une copie nouvelle de son poème contre les moines de Caen', *Le Moyen Age* 48, 1938, 241–69 at 242; Philip Grierson, 'The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS* 4th series 23, 1941, 71–112 at 109–11; Elisabeth van Houts, 'Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court, 1066–1135: The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', *JMH* 15, 1989, 39–62 at 50–51; Stafford, *QEQE*, 274–9; Frank Barlow, *The Godwins: The Rise and Fall of a Noble Dynasty*, London 2002, 119–20; *Wilton Women*, ed. Hollis, 333–4; Yorke, *Nunneries*, 72, 89–91, 157–60.

account of the reign of Edward the Confessor and potentially literate enough to understand the complex poetry of the *Vita*. These women were not cut off from the world, rather Wilton educated women to become wives as well as nuns.[86] Their marriages, moreover, enabled them not only to bridge court and cloister, but also to bridge the Conquest. Edith was present at Wilton and at court during her husband's reign, but also during William's.[87] Meanwhile, the elopement of Harold Godwinson's daughter Gunnhild with Count Alan and the marriages of Margaret's daughters Edith-Matilda and Mary (the latter to Eustace of Boulogne) illustrate very clearly how the learning of Anglo-Saxon convent-educated women could come to influence the cultural world of the new Norman elite. The mobility of these women is important to see if we are to understand how a sophisticated text written for a Wilton audience could be imagined as doing political work. Their mobility is also important if we are interested in the ways in which Anglo-Saxon literary culture contributed to that of post-Conquest England and western Europe more generally.[88]

Gerald Bond, in his book *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France*, identifies William the Conqueror's daughter Adela, countess of Blois, rather than Edith-Matilda, as the first woman to use the patronage of poetry for political ends. In so doing Bond argues that she thus 'mediated' between the learning of medieval Latin poetry and the court: a seminal moment in literary history. Bond thus situates the Loire valley and France, rather than Anglo-Norman England, at the centre of one of the most significant developments in European literary history. The Loire valley and Adela are, of course, critical.[89] But what Adela was doing with poetry was not new; not only had Edith already exercised patronage in a similar manner, but in so doing, she was building on the example of her mother-in-law Emma's patronage of the *Encomium* – a text which, although written in prose, was deeply shaped by Virgil's *Aeneid*.[90]

The conjunction of educated women with a text, the *Vita Ædwardi,* in which classical learning is foregrounded draws attention to the place of female patronage, courts, and nunneries in late Anglo-Saxon literary culture. Along with the close ties of this text to the poetry of northern France, these are all aspects we are accustomed to associate with the vibrant literary culture of the Anglo-Norman realm – yet the *Vita* would suggest that they were already well established in England in the decades before the Conquest. The learning evinced by the *Vita* had to have been decades in the making; some of that learning is about the intellectual culture of Saint-Bertin (about which we know surprisingly little) but equally it is indicative of the learning of Anglo-Saxon royal and aristocratic women.[91]

It has a lot to do with our investment in Anglo-Saxon England as peripheral to Europe before the Conquest that we have neglected the *Vita Ædwardi* and that our framework for Anglo-Saxon literary history has no place for it. Being written, in Latin, by a foreign cleric working under the patronage of a woman has meant the *Vita* has been left out of our paradigms for Anglo-Saxon and indeed European literary history. Ironically we celebrate female patronage and internationalism when we look at the literary culture of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman realm and

86 *Wilton Women*, ed. Hollis, 318–27.
87 See above, p. 153 and Stafford, *QEQE*, 274–9.
88 Tyler, 'Crossing Conquests'.
89 Bond, *Loving Subject*.
90 See above, p. 143.
91 On Saint-Bertin, see Tyler, 'Fictions of Family', esp. 151, and Karine Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders*, York 2005, 17–94.

indeed when we look at that of all of western Europe in the High Middle Ages. The *Vita* demands that we move away from the confines of nationalizing literary history and look for new paradigms in order to understand the place of English literary culture within Europe.[92]

[92] Versions of this paper have been read at Bergen, York, Nottingham, St Andrews, and Battle; this final version has benefited from comments generously offered by these audiences.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, KING HENRY I, AND THE *GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM*

Björn Weiler

This paper deals with the portrayal of King Henry I in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*.[1] While this may, at first, seem a somewhat narrowly defined topic for discussion, it does in fact allow for a series of more wide-ranging questions to be asked. It is on three of these that I would like to focus: how modern readers may approach the oeuvre of this particular chronicler; what the image of King Henry may tell us about how one of the – already among his contemporaries – most widely read and most highly regarded historians of the Central Middle Ages defined the purpose of writing history; and, finally, how a deeper engagement with the political thinking of writers like Malmesbury may contribute to our understanding of the cultural, moral, and ethical framework of high medieval European politics.[2]

Let me begin with the first of these questions. Admiration of Malmesbury is by no means only a modern phenomenon: his *Gesta Regum* was widely copied already in the twelfth century.[3] At the same time, William's careful sifting of sources and evidence, his archival research and early attempts at *Quellenkritik* (source criticism), reminiscent of a more professionalized approach to writing history as it emerged in the nineteenth century,[4] combined with a Latin style steeped in traditions of classical rhetoric,[5] have sometimes perhaps blinded his modern readers to just how deeply he was rooted in the cultural, intellectual, and literary conventions of his own time.[6] More recently, a number of writers have argued that William should perhaps

1 I would like to thank Bill Aird for commenting on an earlier version of this article, and the audience at Battle for their encouraging and helpful comments.

2 This article is therefore not a study of William's overall portrayal of the king (which remains a *desideratum*; in the meantime see Alan Cooper, '"The Feet of Those That Bark Shall Be Cut Off": Timorous Historians and the Personality of Henry I', *ANS* 23, 2001 for 2000, 47–67 at 59–65); of his views on kingship (on which see Joan Gluckauf Haahr, 'The Concept of Kingship in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and *Historia Novella*', *Mediaeval Studies* 38, 1976, 351–71; Jean Blacker, *The Faces of Time: Portrayal of the Past in Old French and Latin Historical Narrative of the Anglo-Norman Regnum*, Austin TX 1994, 57–66; Björn Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury on Kingship', *History* 90, 2005, 3–22); or of the accuracy of his reporting.

3 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, pp. xiii–xxi; R. M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, revised edn, Woodbridge 2003*,* 36–8; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, *c. 550 to c. 1307*, London 1974, 179–80.

4 Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 166–8, 174–6; V. H. Galbraith, *Historical Research in Medieval England*, London 1951, 11–19; R. W. Southern 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing, IV: The Sense of the Past', *TRHS* 5th series 23, 1973, 243–63.

5 Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 14–39; idem, 'William of Malmesbury and the Latin Classics Revisited', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 129, 2005, 383–93; Michael Winterbottom, 'The Language of William of Malmesbury', in *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West, 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, ed. Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney Thomson, Turnhout 2003, 129–47.

6 D. H. Farmer, 'Two Biographies by William of Malmesbury', in *Latin Biography*, ed. T. A. Dorey, London 1967, 155–76; Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 26–7; John Gillingham, 'Civilizing the

not be viewed as a disinterested recorder of the past in the Rankean mould, but as a twelfth-century writer steeped in the traditions of Benedictine monasticism, with an outlook formed by patristic and early medieval theology and the conventions and practices of late Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman evaluations of the past.[7] Most importantly, this meant that greater weight should be given to his distinctly medieval understanding of classical political concepts,[8] to the moral purpose and context of his writing,[9] and to the role of religion and the supernatural in his understanding of the world.[10]

I would like to take these approaches, and the wider re-evaluation of medieval historical writing of which they form part,[11] as a starting point for addressing a conundrum that has faced several modern readers of the *Gesta* in general and of its fifth book (which deals with Henry's reign) in particular. On a most elementary level, while elsewhere in the *Gesta* William had freely mixed praise with censure, once he started dealing with Henry, he produced a series of seemingly obsequious eulogies. The final book of the *Gesta* has consequently been described as 'disappointingly slight',[12] William as 'a political time-server' and a flatterer, and his description of Henry I as 'mealy-mouthed'.[13] Moreover, book five's general vagueness of tone, its lack of specific detail (compared with other sections), suggested to the *Gesta*'s most recent editors that we have before us a provisional text at best.[14] The break in style and content thus marked either a lapse in William's judgement, or it indicated that

English? The English Histories of William of Malmesbury and David Hume', *Historical Research* 74, 2001, 17–43; Monika Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century English Historical Writing*, Chapel Hill NC 1996. As far as the classicizing Latin is concerned, we should remember that just because William wrote like an early imperial Roman historian does not mean that he also thought like one. See Neil Wright, '"Industriae Testimonium": William of Malmesbury and Latin Poetry Revisited', *Revue Bénédictine* 103, 1993, 482–531; and Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn, '"Ad bonae uitae institutum": William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History', PhD thesis, University of Bergen 2007, which is shortly to appear in print. An online version is available at <https://bora.uib.no/bitstream/1956/2572/1/D.Avh_Sigbjorn_Sonnesyn.pdf>.

7 Heinz Richter, *Englische Geschichtsschreiber des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1938, 54–125. I am grateful to John Gillingham for bringing my attention to this text, which has been largely neglected by Anglophone scholarship. Sønnesyn, 'Ad bonae uitae institutum'; Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury on Kingship'; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 178–9; Joan Gluckauf Haahr, 'William of Malmesbury's Roman Models: Suetonius and Lucan', in *The Classics in the Middle Ages: Papers of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, ed. Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin, Binghamton NY 1990, 165–73.

8 Sønnesyn, 'Ad bonae uitae institutum', 86–120, 158–64.

9 See also Judith A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy*, Cambridge 2006, 3; Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury on Kingship'.

10 He had, after all, produced several saints' lives, a collection of Marian miracles, and a commentary on Lamentations. For a list of his known works see Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, II, pp. xlvi–xlvii.

11 Roger Ray, 'Rhetorical Scepticism and Verisimilar Narrative in John of Salisbury's *Historia Pontificalis*', in *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*, ed. Ernst Breisach, Kalamazoo MI 1985, 61–102; Nancy F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England*, Chicago 1977; eadem, 'The New Cornificius: Medieval History and the Artifice of Words', in *Classical Rhetoric*, ed. Breisach, 5–59. See, for Continental models and parallels, Helmut Beumann, *Widukind von Korvei: Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung und Ideengeschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Weimar 1950; Sverre Bagge, 'Ideas and Narrative in Otto of Freising's "Gesta Frederici"', *JMH* 22, 1996, 345–77; idem, 'Theodoricus Monachus: Clerical Historiography in Twelfth-Century Norway', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 14, 1989, 113–33; Jeff Rider, *God's Scribe: The Historiographical Art of Galbert of Bruges*, Washington DC 2001; Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind*, London 2002.

12 Gransden, *Historical Writing,* 172.

13 Christopher Tyerman, *Who's Who in Early Medieval England (1066–1272)*, London 1996, 113 (both quotations); Blacker, *Faces of Time*, 60–1.

14 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, II, 354.

he had not quite finished the job. Either way, Malmesbury's portrayal of Henry I signified a drastic departure from his accustomed standards of coherence and truthfulness.

Yet it is also possible that these readings may have been predicated on an understanding of Malmesbury that overemphasized the quasi-modern aspects of his writing. I would therefore like to ask how our understanding of the text would change were we to approach these seeming idiosyncrasies not as lapses and shortcomings, as tokens of fear or obeisance, but as pointers to an overarching narrative and thematic structure. This suggestion is born out of considering broader European trends in historical writing in the early twelfth century. The decades around 1120 marked the emergence of a genre of history perhaps best described as regnal history.[15] The *Gesta* apart, there were texts like the anonymous *Kaiserchronik*, of *c.* 1114, probably written for Empress Matilda during her time at the imperial court;[16] the 'Gallus Anonymus' *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, *c.* 1113;[17] Cosmas of Prague's *Chronica Boemorum*, *c.* 1123;[18] and Fulcher of Chartres's continuation of his crusading chronicle and history of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem up to 1128.[19] These narratives shared several features: they sought to provide a history of a realm or principality rather than of a particular institution or region; they took regnal affairs to be their chief focus, seeking to offer a history of the realm's development, often from the mythical origins of a dominant family or at least a particularly decisive moment in a community's history; and they set out to provide moral guidance to their readers. They were moreover often conscientiously designed as the first complete narrative of the origin and history of a *gens* and regnal community, and were so at a time when the integrity and independence of that *gens* was either under threat, or had recently been under threat. Most of these features also apply to the *Gesta*.

15 See also Norbert Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der 'nationes': Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter*, Cologne 1995; Elisabeth van Houts, 'The Writing of History and Family Traditions through the Eyes of Men and Women: The *Gesta Principum Polonorum*', forthcoming in *Anonim zw. Gallem i jego Kronika na tle historiografii XII wiekúz perspektywy nowszych bada [The Gallus Anonymus and his Chronicle in the Light of Recent Research]*, ed. Jerzy Wieruszowski, Polska Akademia Umiejętności [Proceedings of the Polish Academy of Arts and Letters], Kraków 2009. I am grateful to Elisabeth van Houts for a copy of her paper in advance of publication.

16 *Chronicon imperatorum ab origine Francorum ad a. 1114*, MGH Scriptores 6, Hanover 1844, 115–248. See also Irene Schmale-Ott, 'Untersuchungen zu Ekkehard von Aura und zur Kaiserchronik', *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 34, 1971, 403–61; Ian S. Robinson, 'Die Chronik Hermanns von Reichenau und die Reichenauer Kaiserchronik', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 36, 1980, 84–136.

17 *Gesta principum Polonorum: The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, ed. and trans. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, Budapest 2003. This also contains the Latin text as published in *Galli anonymi cronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, ed. Karol Maleczyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, new series 2, Cracow 1952. See also Thomas N. Bisson, 'On Not Eating Polish Bread in Vain: Resonance and Conjuncture in the *Deeds of the Princes of the Poles* (1109–1113)', *Viator* 29, 1998, 275–89; Piotr Oliński, 'Am Hofe Bolesław Schiefmunds: Die Chronik des Gallus Anonymus', in *Die Hofgeschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. Rudolf Schieffer and Jarosław Wenta, Toruń 2006, 93–106; Alheydis Plassmann, *Origo gentis: Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen*, Berlin 2006, 292–320; Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 491–9.

18 *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*, ed. Bertold Bretholz with W. Weinberger, MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum Nova series 2, Berlin 1923. Lisa Wolverton is preparing a study and English translation of this text, to be published by the Catholic University of America Press in 2009. In the meantime see Plassmann, *Origo gentis*, 321–55; Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 573–82.

19 *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913; Verena Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres: Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Düsseldorf 1990.

Such texts often also served a need that was met in other contexts, under the Carolingians and then again from the thirteenth century, by treatises on the conduct and exercise of royal or imperial authority. That is, in the absence of a formal tradition of king's mirrors and other treatises theorizing the nature and purpose of political power,[20] it is to regnal histories – alongside, for instance, liturgical documents, law codes, and individual letters of advice – that we must turn if we want to gain insights into the political thought of high medieval Europe.[21] We will not encounter particularly elaborate constructs, but advice, sometimes quite abstract and thoughtful, sometimes no less thoughtful but practical, sometimes rather banal and formulaic. Nonetheless, this type of political thought cannot be ignored: on a pragmatic level, it is often all we have, but it also reflects the conceptual horizons of the groups and individuals with whom rulers had to engage in the exercise of kingship, who could support and aid, but also thwart and hinder royal government. Not all these issues can be considered here, but I hope to sketch out at least how, in William of Malmesbury, one of the most self-reflective writers of this kind of history sought to construct, and how he sought to convey, his understanding of the moral framework of royal power.

The following discussion will proceed in three steps: first, by exploring how the *Gesta* portrayed Henry I, and how this differed from its depiction of other kings; second, by linking the image of King Henry to the audience for which the *Gesta* had been composed, and the overall purpose which, in Malmesbury's words, it was meant to serve; and, finally, by considering the wider historical context of Malmesbury's writing.

I

The *Gesta* is divided into five books, dealing respectively with events from the Anglo-Saxon invasions to the unification of England under Wessex; from the accession of Ecgberht to the battle of Stamford Bridge; and the reigns of William I, William II, and Henry I. In its first recension, the *Gesta* was completed *c.* 1125 and was dedicated to Henry's daughter, the Empress Matilda, King David of Scotland, and Henry's illegitimate son, Earl Robert of Gloucester. The text was revised several times, and Malmesbury, at one point, had composed a now lost continuation. Most of the *Gesta* is marked by a desire not to patch over weaknesses and moral faults. This was, in fact, a point that William made repeatedly, and especially once he began dealing with England's recent history. In the preface to book three,

20 With the partial exception of the investiture controversy, where, however, thinking focused on a very specific problem (the relationship between secular and spiritual authority). See Leidulf Melve, 'Political Thought during the Investiture Controversy', forthcoming in *Politics and Political Culture in the West, c. 950–c. 1250*, ed. Björn Weiler, Turnhout 2010.

21 This follows Helmut Beumann, 'Die Historiographie des Mittelalters als Quelle für die Ideengeschichte des Königtums', *Historische Zeitschrift* 180, 1955, 449–88; and František Graus, 'Die Herrschersagen des Mittelalters als Geschichtsquelle', in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von František Graus (1959–1989)*, ed. Hans-Jörg Gilomen, Peter Moraw, and Rainer C. Schwinges, Stuttgart 2002, 3–27. See also Sverre Bagge, *Kings, Politics, and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography, c. 950–1150*, Leiden 2002; János M. Bak, 'Legitimization of Rulership in Three Narratives from Twelfth-Century Central Europe', *Majestas* 12, 2004, 43–60; Ana Rodríguez, 'History and Topography for the Legitimisation of Royalty in Three Castilian Chronicles', ibid. 61–82; and, for England, Amaury Chaou, *L'Idéologie Plantagenêt: royauté arthurienne et monarchie politique dans l'espace Plantagenêt (xii–xiii siècles)*, Rennes 2001.

for instance, dealing with the arrival of the Normans and the reign of William the Conqueror, Malmesbury stated these principles in almost programmatic fashion: the Conqueror had been either overly praised by the Normans, or unfairly maligned by the English. Malmesbury, by contrast, would seek to steer a happy middle course:

> his good deeds … I will publish unadorned; his misdeeds I will touch on lightly and as it were in passing, so far as is needed to make them known. Thus my history will not be accused of falsehood, nor shall I be passing sentence on a man whose actions, even when they do not merit praise, at least almost always admit of excuse.[22]

Similar words also preface the fourth book, dealing with William Rufus: another historian might be tempted to 'pass over the evils that meet him on every hand, to be on the safe side, and as for good actions, if he cannot find any, he will invent them to secure a good reception'.[23] Not so Malmesbury: he would, as before, mention good deeds and excuse bad ones, but would neither exaggerate the former nor ignore the latter.

In practice, there was a lot more about the shortcomings of kings than the preface may have led us to expect. In the case of Edward the Confessor, for instance, it was a token of divine favour that, despite the king's simple-mindedness and ineffectiveness as a ruler, the realm did not descend into civil war.[24] Edward may have led the life of a saint, but he was singularly ill-equipped for the duties of kingship. He had proven himself unable to restrain the ambitions of Harold Godwinsson, had allowed himself to be tricked into appointing Stigand as archbishop of Canterbury,[25] and had left England in a state in which divine punishment (the Norman Conquest) was both deserved and inevitable.[26] Similarly, during a lengthy eulogy on William the Conqueror, Malmesbury did not shy away from reporting rumours that Archbishop Mauger of Rouen had been removed from his see not because he was lecherous, deceitful, and unsuitable for church office (as the Conqueror had claimed), but because he had censured the king for marrying within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. It was to atone for this act, Malmesbury reported, that the Conqueror founded the abbey of Caen.[27] Both St Edward's and William's portrayals are characteristic of Malmesbury's view of royal power: rulers lived in the world and were thus inevitably prone to succumb to the snares and temptations of a secular existence.[28]

This also meant that the dividing line between good and bad rulers was a thin one, as becomes apparent once William's apology for the Conqueror's financial extortions is compared with what he has to say about Rufus. The Conqueror had a 'passion for money, which no scruples restrained him from scraping together'. Important in the present context is how Malmesbury explained this need for funds: the Conqueror was driven by fear of his enemies, and the need either to fight or pay them off.[29] One does not have to be a particularly careful reader of the *Gesta* to note the similarities with William Rufus. The Conqueror's second son had started out well, excelled at knightly pursuits, was a paragon of courtliness, and a model

22 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, pp. 424–5.
23 Ibid. pp. 540–1.
24 Ibid. c. 196 (pp. 348–9).
25 The archetypal corrupt prelate in the post-Conquest view of the Anglo-Saxon Church: Mary Frances Smith, 'Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle', *ANS* 16, 1994 for 1993, 199–219.
26 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 226 (pp. 414–15).
27 Ibid. c. 267 (pp. 494–5).
28 Green, *Henry I*, 3; Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury on Kingship', 7–13.
29 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 280 (pp. 508–11).

son to his parents.[30] Although perhaps too young on his accession,[31] he nonetheless proved, at first, a capable king.[32] What brought about Rufus's downfall was, in part at least, the kind of challenge that his father had faced: the need to protect himself against rebels and rivals. To do so, Rufus depended on recruiting knights from across Europe. This was not, however, only a matter of paying wages, but also of maintaining a suitably extravagant life-style. Unable to resist the temptations of so lavish an existence, unwilling to temper generosity with prudence, Rufus became ever more obsessed with finding revenues, resulting in his exploitation of justice and the selling of church offices.[33]

The difference between the Conqueror and his son lay not in their motivation (they both sought to defend what was theirs by right), and only partly in their actions (both exploited every available means of raising revenue), but in their willingness to make amends for their transgressions, and their choice of advisers. While the Conqueror thus called on the services of men like Lanfranc, and atoned for his sins by the patronage of monks and nuns, Rufus lent his ear to Ranulf Flambard,[34] and joked about rather than corrected his excesses and those of his courtiers.[35] Malmesbury did not expect his kings to be perfect, but he expected them to make amends, and to seek out advisers who would admonish and censure, not aid and encourage them in their depravity.[36] We will return to several of these issues, but what matters at this stage is how easily good kings could slip into tyranny, and how freely Malmesbury interspersed praise with censure. It is this background that makes the shift of tone and emphasis in the portrayal of King Henry so marked.

The shift was evident already in the preface to book five. While, in previous books, the chief challenge had been to offer a fair-minded account, in book five it was rather to do full justice to the sheer magnitude of King Henry's numerous accomplishments:

> to record his actions in writing for the benefit of posterity is a larger task than can fairly be demanded of me. Even were I to set down those deeds alone which have come to my knowledge, they might exhaust the strength of the readiest writer, and overload many a capacious book cupboard. Who then can try to recount in detail all his weighty counsels and his great kingly enterprises?[37]

Unlike in the case of William the Conqueror, there were no mistakes to be excused, and unlike in that of William Rufus, there was no careful path to be steered between mendacity and truthfulness.

The remainder of book five proceeds in a similar fashion: Henry I was always prudent in his counsel, feared by his enemies, and loved by his subjects.[38] Even when criticism was voiced, it served to highlight Henry's virtue, as Malmesbury's account of the investiture controversy may illustrate: after dealing with the king's religious foundation at Reading, Malmesbury refers, more in passing, to the conflict

30 Ibid. c. 305 (pp. 542–3).
31 Ibid. cc. 305–6 (pp. 542–5).
32 Ibid. cc. 307–9 (pp. 548–51).
33 Ibid. c. 313 (pp. 556–9).
34 The archetypal corrupt prelate of the post-Conquest Church: J. O. Prestwich, 'The Career of Ranulf Flambard', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich, Woodbridge 1994, 299–310; R. W. Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard', in his *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, Oxford 1970, 183–205.
35 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 312 (pp. 556–7).
36 Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury on Kingship', 15–20, for further examples.
37 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, pp. 708–9.
38 Ibid. c. 411 (pp. 742–5).

over investiture by ring and staff, but refuses to go into any detail – after all, he explained, others had already written about it.[39] Instead, Malmesbury copied two letters by Pope Paschal II, to Henry and St Anselm respectively. Both highlight themes dear to the chronicler: the one to the king, the need for spiritual advice and guidance, and the one to Anselm, the king's piety and willingness to atone for his actions. What, Paschal explained to the king, would be the use of having to rely on fawning courtiers to point out Henry's moral failings if, instead, he could have Anselm?[40] This is the closest we have to an admission by William that the king may have been at fault.

Henry was, however, allowed quickly to redeem himself: he had been reluctant to seek reconciliation with Anselm 'not from pride and vainglory', but due to the protestations of his household, who urged him to uphold the laws and customs of his kingdom.[41] While, in the eyes of Church reformers, this kind of reasoning would not bear close scrutiny, it is nonetheless worth comparing the motives Malmesbury attributed to Henry, and those ascribed to other rulers who came into conflict with the Church. William Rufus oppressed the Church out of greed and to satisfy his immoral urges;[42] Emperor Henry IV to seek revenge (the pope had refused to forgive the emperor's incest with his sister);[43] and Henry V from a desire for worldly glory.[44] Similarly, Philip I of France had been excommunicated for his adulterous pursuits (he was a 'plaything of adulterous passion'),[45] and William of Aquitaine clashed with Peter of Poitiers because the duke was a lecher and a drunk.[46] Unlike his peers and relatives, Henry was driven not by greed, pride, or depravity, but by a desire to do good. More importantly, he quickly realized that what, in the eyes of his spiritual superiors, was morally right superseded secular custom, however well established. It is thus not surprising that Malmesbury focused on the resolution of the investiture conflict, not its history: the king, having defeated his brother Robert, and having thus experienced the bounty of divine benevolence, and after contemplating, furthermore, the blessings and teachings of the pope, foreswore investiture by ring and staff.[47] The ability of a truly good ruler to recognize that he had gone astray, and to make amends for his transgressions, was a recurrent theme in Malmesbury's writing on kingship.[48] Henry I was therefore typical in the challenges he faced, but also exemplary in how he met them.

William's account of Henry's reign was designed with this wider pattern in mind. The thematic order of events described in book five thus followed that of other sections.[49] These similarities matter. They provided William's readers with an

39 Ibid. c. 413 (pp. 746–7).
40 Ibid. c. 414 (pp. 746–51).
41 Ibid. c. 417 (pp. 754–5).
42 Ibid. c. 314 (pp. 558–9).
43 Ibid. c. 266 (pp. 490–1).
44 Ibid. c. 420 (pp. 762–5).
45 Ibid. c. 404 (pp. 730–3).
46 Ibid. c. 439 (pp. 782–7). The episode was thus by no means included only for its own sake (as suggested ibid. II, 352).
47 Ibid. I, c. 417 (pp. 754–5).
48 Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury on Kingship', 17–22.
49 Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation and Reality*, Cambridge 1991, 162–5. Book five starts out with Henry's upbringing and the years immediately prior to his succession, before turning to Henry's rule (Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, cc. 393–405). Henry's accomplishments were elaborated further in a series of chapters on the governance of England, including that of the Church (cc. 406–17), before turning to Henry's marriage and children (cc. 418–20), a lengthy excursus on the investiture controversy in Germany (cc. 421–38), and the many holy men who had come

easy point of reference, and fitted the events of Henry I's reign into a clear narrative pattern. There had been good kings before. However, Edgar the Peaceable, for instance, or William the Conqueror had been good rulers because they had appropriate men to guide them. Henry did, of course, take advice and counsel, but there was a subtle difference in how Malmesbury described Henry's relationship with his advisers. Edward the Confessor, for instance, had been dependent on Earl Siward of Northumbria and Bishop Leofric of Hereford;[50] we should also note his description of the Conqueror's relationship with Lanfranc: 'To his wisdom the king had made himself subservient, and thought he should reject no course of action which Lanfranc recommended'.[51] Clearly, this was not the kind of relationship Henry I had with his clergy.

William's account of the king's leading clerical adviser, Bishop Roger of Salisbury, may serve as a case in point. Although Henry 'leant heavily on his advice', it was not moral guidance he sought, but administrative competence: even before Henry became king, Roger had been in charge of Henry's household, and it was with secular matters that he continued to be entrusted. As the king's chancellor, he was responsible for the administration of justice, and it was due to his capable handling of judicial matters that Henry 'found little or no discontent'. Unlike Dunstan, Lanfranc, and Anselm, Roger excelled not at promoting the moral reform of the kingdom, but at presiding over the king's household. Despite all this Roger 'would not neglect his religious duties'. Malmesbury in fact sought very hard to stress Roger's pious credentials: he had, for instance, only taken up his juridical and administrative role after having been urged to do so by three archbishops and the pope. That is, Roger acted like an ideal prelate in the mould of Saints Gregory the Great and Anselm, who had initially refused episcopal office. This was no empty gesture, but a token of the bishop's moral and spiritual rectitude.[52] Roger thus both reflected and stood out from a new breed of bishops, who 'seemed to fall short of the holiness of early times, able administrators in the affairs of this world, in spiritual things less active … [who] did their best to put their shortcomings in the shade by the wealth they lavished on holy places'.[53] Quite clearly, the bishop of Salisbury combined both qualities, and was thus marked as different from men like

to people the king's domains (cc. 439–44). By comparison, book three, about the Conqueror, opened with William's succession (cc. 229–30), the overcoming of challenges, first in Normandy (cc. 231–6), then England (cc. 238–58), before turning to notable events outside England (cc. 259–62), general affairs of the Church (cc. 263–71), and the king's personality, family, and death (cc. 272–83). Book three was interspersed with digressions, too: various tales about Gregory VII (cc. 263–6), the controversy surrounding Berengar of Tours (cc. 284–6), a tale of monks (c. 237), and an outline of the rivalry between York and Canterbury (cc. 294–303).

50 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 196 (pp. 350–1).

51 Ibid. c. 269 (pp. 496–7).

52 Björn Weiler, 'The *Rex Renitens* and the Medieval Ideal of Kingship, *c.* 950–*c.* 1250', *Viator* 31, 2000, 1–42 at 18–24.

53 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 445 (pp. 794–5). This was by no means a condemnation of these new bishops (and here I differ from Cooper, 'The Feet of Those', 63–4 note 114). Not all bishops could be saints (and there were, in any case, as Malmesbury points out, holy men enough peopling the English countryside: Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 445, pp. 794–7). What they should not be either, however, was rapacious tyrants. The emphasis on building work conforms to a wider pattern of writing about reforming bishops: Maureen C. Miller, 'Masculinity, Reform, and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian Era', *Church History* 72, 2003, 23–52; Jeffrey A. Bowman, 'The Bishop Builds a Bridge: Sanctity and Power in the Medieval Pyrenees', *Catholic Historical Review* 88, 2002, 1–16. Malmesbury's image may also echo the customary suspicion of the secular by the religious clergy. In lieu of a rich literature see Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge 1996, 125–67.

Ranulf Flambard, bishop of Durham and Rufus's chief minister,[54] who had 'skinned the rich, ground down the poor, and swept other men's inheritances into his net'.[55] Henry I was a good king, even though he lacked a Dunstan or Lanfranc to guide him.

The same applied to the king's secular advisers. Count Robert of Meulan, for instance, while praised for his loyalty, was censured too:[56] above all, he had prolonged the conflict with Anselm, as 'beating back reason on this point more by appeal to ancient custom than to any moral principle, [he had] urged that the king's majesty would suffer severely if he forewent the custom of his predecessors'.[57] Nonetheless, he redeemed himself, as he 'used his influence on the side of unity and peace' and by being a 'champion of justice in the courts; … inspiring his lord the king to maintain the severity of the laws, and himself not merely obeying the existing laws but proposing new ones'.[58] In many ways Robert was thus an ideal noble: always faithful and loyal, a model and an incentive to his king, someone who upheld law and justice, an 'architect of victory in war'.[59] However, he also possessed character traits typical of the secular world – ambition, and a desire for wealth and influence – which had to be restrained.

Like Roger of Salisbury, Robert of Meulan had his less virtuous counterpart: Godwin, the leading figure at Edward the Confessor's court.[60] While Robert exemplified the strenuous pursuit of justice, Godwin illustrated the dangers and temptations of secular power, made all the more striking by the numerous positive traits he shared with the count.[61] Like Robert, Godwin was renowned for his loyalty and martial skills.[62] His reputation was, however, tarnished by his involvement in the murder of Prince Alfred,[63] and by the fact that his son Harold usurped the English throne. Godwin and Robert are thus juxtaposed in a manner resembling the depiction of the Conqueror and Rufus: they shared common traits, acted for similar motives, and clearly possessed all the virtues and faults that went with living in the world. However, they put all this to very different uses: Robert to aiding and defending his king; Godwin to satisfying his ambition. The difference was further heightened by the character of the king they served: Godwin played so prominent a role because Edward was weak and ineffectual. Robert, by contrast, lived under a ruler renowned for his firm but rigorous justice, his intolerance of noble tyranny,[64] a monarch, in short, who proved both his virtue and his suitability for kingship by

54 For an opposing view, very much stressing similarities between William's portrayal of the two, see Cooper, 'The Feet of Those', 63.

55 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 314 (pp. 558–9).

56 Ibid. c. 394 (pp. 716–17).

57 Ibid. c. 417 (pp. 754–5).

58 Ibid. c. 407 (pp. 736–7). That the specific example William gives of Robert's influence is that he introduced the custom of dining only once a day should not be read as mockery (as suggested by Cooper, 'The Feet of Those', 63), but rather, as Malmesbury continues to explain, as indicative of another of Robert's virtues, self-restraint.

59 Ibid.

60 Frank Barlow, *The Godwins: The Rise and Fall of a Noble Dynasty*, Harlow 2002, 47–92; Emma Mason, *The House of Godwine: The History of a Dynasty*, London 2004, 31–81.

61 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, cc. 196–7 (pp. 352–3).

62 During Cnut's reign, Godwin secured an all-important victory over the Swedes (ibid. c. 181, pp. 324–5); in 1036, acting as 'the principal champion of justice', he fervently defended the claims of Cnut's sons to the English throne (ibid. c. 188, pp. 334–5); and in 1042, it was only at Godwin's insistence that Edward even contemplated returning to England (ibid. c. 196, pp. 350–3).

63 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, cc. 188, 197 (pp. 336–7, 354–5).

64 Ibid. cc. 283, 391, 396–8 (pp. 512–13, 710–11, 719–25).

availing himself of the count's loyalty while at the same time keeping his ambitions firmly in check.

Henry I was a model king. This is not to say that he was free of faults. However, as we have seen in the context of the investiture controversy, Henry recognized his shortcomings, learned from his mistakes, and atoned for his transgressions. He did all this in addition to the normal tokens of good kingship: the rigorous pursuit of justice, generous endowment of religious houses, and meticulous handling of financial matters. All this was more, though, than just mealy-mouthed sycophancy: Henry may have been an ideal ruler, but that idealization worked, partly, by establishing a clear and not always flattering contrast between the monarch and the far less exemplary record of his attendants, advisers, relatives, and forebears. This highlighted Henry's own achievements, but also served as a warning as to what might happen should the king tire in his efforts: once he relented in his vigilance, disaster struck, as with the White Ship, which killed many of his entourage, including his only legitimate son.[65] There were other warnings, too: whenever Henry became too confident in his own abilities, he would be reminded that he had earned his success by the standards of his living, and that triumph could easily turn into defeat.[66] Praise of Henry was furthermore juxtaposed with frequent examples of men who had tried to do good, but failed, and who failed because they had been unable or unwilling to heed the warnings they received. Almost every episode praising Henry for his virtues is thus paired with another that highlights how others were unable to reach similar levels of accomplishment, but also, and perhaps more importantly, shows that they were unable to do so because they failed to realize that they had gone astray. Henry's love of justice was thus paired with his elder brothers' emollience and tyranny respectively, and his settlement of the investiture controversy with Henry V's imprisonment of Pope Paschal II and the persecution of the saintly Peter of Poitiers by Duke William of Aquitaine.[67] Reducing this carefully constructed image to mere flattery is simplistic. Of course William heaped praise on the king, but it was praise mixed with admonition, and it served to convey a clear moral message.

II

Why did Malmesbury choose to describe Henry I in these terms? The answer given most recently is that William was afraid.[68] At first sight, this reading gains credence by Malmesbury's musings, in the foreword to book four (dealing with Rufus's reign):

> Most people, I know, will think it unwise to have turned my pen to the history of kings of my own time; they will say that in works of this character truth is often disastrous and falsehood profitable, for in writing of contemporaries it is dangerous to criticize, while praise is sure of welcome.[69]

Let us, however, be careful as to the context within which Malmesbury recorded these views: they are not his own but those of his contemporaries, who cynically suggest that 'with everything nowadays tending to the worse rather than the better,

65 Ibid. c. 419 (pp. 760–1).
66 Ibid. c. 401 (pp. 728–9).
67 Ibid. c. 439 (pp. 783–7).
68 Cooper, 'The Feet of Those', 65–6.
69 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, pp. 540–1.

an author will pass over the evils that meet him on every hand, to be on the safe side, and as for good actions, if he cannot find any, he will invent them to secure a good reception'.[70] Unwilling to countenance the contempt that dealing with contemporary affairs might earn him, Malmesbury had been reluctant to embark upon the history of Rufus's reign. Only because he could not resist his love of study and the incitement of his friends did he resume work. He did so with the clear intention to 'summarize doings, both good and bad, that as my ship speeds unhurt between Scylla and Charybdis [i.e. mendacity and unpopularity], my information may be found wanting, but not my judgement'.[71] That is, Malmesbury is not concerned with the response to his endeavours by the king or those in power, but with the generally low esteem in which unnamed contemporaries held those writing on current affairs. There is a degree of defiance in this preface, but it is defiance aimed above all at those who might suggest that Malmesbury would sink so low as to write mendacious history. This was a dispute between Malmesbury and his imagined critics, not Malmesbury and his readers.

In fact, once we turn to the content of the *Gesta Regum*, there is little evidence that Malmesbury had been worried about incurring the king's wrath: he cast doubt on the legitimacy of Henry's birth, blamed the death of his eldest son on the young boy being drunk and a spoilt brat,[72] described the king's wife as a spendthrift oppressor of the poor,[73] and his daughter's husband as a tyrant and buffoon. Malmesbury was, generally, quite capable of maligning his patrons – Queen Matilda, lest we forget, had commissioned the *Gesta*. One also wonders how King David of Scotland, dedicatee of one manuscript, took to the image of good English kingship manifesting itself in hammering the Scots,[74] or the fact that, in William's eyes, one of David's most praiseworthy deeds had been that he introduced English manners and clothing to his flea-ridden kingdom.[75] All this suggests that the shift in tone was about more than an anxious monk seeking to please the royal ego. This impression is further strengthened by the fact that in the *Gesta Pontificum*, also completed *c.* 1125, Malmesbury offered an altogether more unflattering portrait of the king: he lamented, for instance, that, had Anselm lived longer, he would have prevented the king from falling into unspecified disgrace;[76] complained about the long vacancy of Canterbury and how Henry preferred pocketing the see's revenues over appointing a new prelate;[77] and recounted at length how Archbishop Ralph d'Escures repeatedly stood up to the king.[78] Moreover, the manuscript evidence suggests that it was this

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid. I have been unable to locate Elizabeth Freeman, 'Sailing between Scylla and Charybdis: William of Malmesbury, Historiographical Innovation and the Recreation of the Anglo-Saxon Past', *Tjurunga: Australasian Benedictine Review* 48, 1995, 23–37.

72 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 419 (pp. 760–1).

73 Ibid. c. 418 (pp. 754–7).

74 Ibid. cc. 48, 125, 146, 148, 182, 250, 400 (pp. 68–9, 196–7, 234–41, 324–5, 464–5, 724–7).

75 Ibid. c. 348 (pp. 606–7) (Scots forsaking their familiar fleas to journey to the Holy Land); c. 400 (pp. 726–7).

76 Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, I, c. 63 (pp. 188–9).

77 Although he did point out that Henry, unlike William Rufus, made sure the monks had sufficient funds to meet their needs: ibid. c. 67 (pp. 200–1).

78 Including one occasion when Ralph berated an evidently flustered Henry for wearing the royal crown without the prelate's blessing: when asked who had crowned him, the best the king came up with was that he did not know. This was followed by a scene in which the prelate grasped the crown to take it off the royal head, while Henry nervously sought to undo the straps holding it. In fact, Ralph was barely able to resist the urge to smack the king for his bad behaviour: Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, I, c. 71 (pp. 210–13). Even there, though, Henry, like a good king, requested that the archbishop correct his errors.

unexpurgated version of the *Gesta Pontificum* that was first circulated by Malmesbury.[79] That is, he did not hesitate in being critical of the king, or having his views made known.[80] All this also makes the image of Henry in the *Gesta Regum* even more unusual. If it was therefore not fear that guided William's pen, what did?

We should perhaps keep in mind, first, the highly didactic image of Henry painted in the *Gesta*: as we have seen, flattering as it was, it also sought to convey a very clear moral lesson. We should, second, remind ourselves of a basic principle that, as Malmesbury explained repeatedly, guided his selection of what was and what was not recorded in the *Gesta*: his goal was to report those deeds – both good and bad – that were most useful to his audience.[81] Or, as William and his brethren had explained in their letter of dedication to the Empress:

> in the old days books of this kind were written for kings or queens in order to provide them with a sort of pattern for their own lives, from which they could learn to follow some men's successes, while avoiding the misfortunes of others, to imitate the wisdom of some and to look down on the foolishness of others.[82]

History informed about the past, but did so in order to provide a moral lesson for the present, and Malmesbury repeated this point at the beginning of book two: history 'adds flavour to moral instruction by imparting a pleasurable knowledge of past events, spurring the reader by the accumulation of examples to follow the good and shun the bad'.[83] These were, moreover, themes that contributed in no small measure to Henry's status as an exemplar of good kingship: already as a boy he had been so absorbed in 'the honeyed sweets of books that in later life war's alarms and the thronging cares of peace were alike unable to dislodge them from his noble heart'. He was by no means learned in a clerical sense (through systematic training and reading) – in fact, he had acquired his knowledge haphazardly – but he did put it to good ends, gradually learning 'how to ride his subjects with a lighter rein as time went on, and to withhold his knights from every engagement that was not most clearly seen to be inevitable'. An interest in literature was not idle curiosity, but part of Henry's training for kingship.[84] That his subjects followed the king – the sons of Count Robert of Meulan, for instance, had so impressed Pope Calixtus II by their skills in dialectics that the attending cardinals conceded willingly that they would never have imagined such abilities to exist even in their own regions – only highlighted the degree to which Henry I excelled at his royal duties.[85] He was an exemplary ruler, at least in part, because he also was an exemplary reader.

Who, then, were the readers for whom the *Gesta* was composed, and what can this audience tell us about the purpose of Malmesbury's composition? Several sources can be used to tackle these questions: the dedicatory letters, and the prefaces to each

79 *Gesta Pontificum*, I, pp. xvi–xvii.

80 Similarly, the fact that King Stephen granted William's brethren at Malmesbury the right to elect an abbot – something they had requested as long ago as 1125, when they presented King David with a copy of the *Gesta* – did little to endear him to William, who continued to dismiss Stephen as weak, ineffectual, and a usurper: Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, c. 35 (pp. 70–1); Nigel Berry, 'St Aldhelm, William of Malmesbury and the Liberty of Malmesbury Abbey', *Reading Medieval Studies* 16, 1990, 15–38.

81 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, pp. 424–5.

82 Ibid. pp. 6–9.

83 Ibid. pp. 150–1.

84 Ibid. c. 390 (pp. 708–11). William, in his prologue to book two, placed the study of history under the rubric of ethics: ibid. pp. 150–1. See also the thoughtful discussion in Sønnesyn, 'Ad bonae uitae institutum', 158–63. For the moral role of learning see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, Philadelphia 1994, 76–115.

85 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 406 (pp. 734–7).

of the *Gesta*'s books.[86] Three of the former survive, attached to different manuscript traditions: those to David and Matilda, ostensibly written by the brethren of Malmesbury (though stylistically they appear to be William's work), probably composed *c.* 1126,[87] and that to Robert, revised at various stages, certainly in 1127/8,[88] and then repeatedly up to 1135.[89] The letter to David of Scotland is unusual, moreover, as David was not the manuscript's chief recipient: rather, his agreement was sought for a copy to be passed on to his niece, the empress, and to get her to grant the monks permission to elect an abbot.[90] Even so, David was expected to profit from the *Gesta*'s message. He was a worthy successor to his forebears, noble by both descent and morals,[91] and it was in this context that the *Gesta* was to be used: 'For here you will learn how illustrious are the forebears whom you follow as their not unworthy grandson and she [Matilda] as their grand-niece, and how well judged was the rivalry, how percipient the intentions of you both, as you pursued their footsteps before you even knew their names.'[92] The letter to King David thus highlights a number of themes also found elsewhere in the *Gesta*: the virtuous nature of the recipients, their relationship with the realm of England, and the role of the *Gesta Regum* as providing historical and moral guidance.[93] The manuscripts' recipients merited the gift by their ancestry and virtue, and were to peruse it not merely as a record of their great lineage, but as a spur to moral progress.

William's aims were twofold: first, to keep awake the memory of England's past, and second, to provide moral instruction to the *Gesta*'s recipients. The *Gesta Regum* had been begun at the behest of Henry's queen, who had not known that she was related to St Aldhelm, Malmesbury's seventh-century abbot.[94] Similarly, William implied that Matilda and David had grown up unaware of their Anglo-Saxon ancestry,[95] and the *Gesta* thus provided a compendium of English history for specific readers with little knowledge of England's past: Matilda had left for Germany when still only a girl (eight years of age);[96] and David was a foreign king.[97]

86 See also Antonia Gransden, 'Prologues in the Historiography of Twelfth-Century England', in *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams, Woodbridge 1990, 55–81; Gertrud Simon, 'Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Diplomatik und Urkundenforschung* 4, 1958, 52–119; and ibid. 5–6, 1959, 73–153; Sønnesyn, 'Ad bonae uitae institutum', 169–75.

87 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, II, 7.

88 Ibid. I, c. 449 (pp. 800–1).

89 Ibid. II, 6.

90 For the context: Berry, 'St Aldhelm'.

91 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, pp. 2–3.

92 Ibid. pp. 4–5.

93 See also the words in the final sections of one version of the *Gesta*, addressed to Earl Robert of Gloucester: 'What I have said, I have deliberately included, that by the dutiful service of my words your prowess may not be hid from posterity, but you may be encouraged to progress from one excellence to another': ibid. c. 449 (pp. 800–1). The empress equally excelled as a model of queenly patronage, being 'in our king's counsels [as] a root of all rectitude, a fount of all mercy, and a prop and stay of all compassion': ibid. pp. 6–7.

94 Ibid. pp. 6–7.

95 Ibid. pp. 4–5.

96 Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English*, Oxford 1991, 17.

97 Robert of Gloucester's case was more complex: he had shown considerable interest in reconstructions of the English past, as evident in his association with Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum*: John Gillingham, 'Kingship, Chivalry and Love: Political and Cultural Values in the Earliest History Written in French, Geoffrey Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*', in his *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values*, Woodbridge 2000, 233–58; Jean-Guy Gouttebroze, 'Robert de Gloucester et l'écriture de l'histoire', in *Histoire et literature*

This historical handbook approach should perhaps also be read with an eye on William's frequent comments about the contempt with which the Normans treated the English,[98] and his view about the nature of relations between Normans and Anglo-Saxons. He thus included a vision, taken from the *Vita Ædwardi*,[99] in which Edward the Confessor beheld the evils to befall England after his death. Inquiring when such calamity would end, the king was told that the fortunes of his people would resemble those of a tree that had been cut in half,[100] but which, after the part cut off had been carried away three furlongs, had grown together again, and which would continue blossoming 'as the sap of each [part] runs together with the affection that was of old between them'.[101] William referred to this prophecy again when describing the White Ship disaster and the death of Henry's only legitimate son: in the young boy had rested the hope that Edward's prophecy would be fulfilled and England's misery ended.[102] This reflected wider concerns: from the beginning, the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* was also a history of the deeds of the rulers of the Franks, Normans, and French and *their* subjects,[103] and thus a history of peoples who, initially on friendly terms, had grown apart, resulting in the chasm of 1066. The recipients of the *Gesta* ought to heed that ideal *status quo ante*, which it was their responsibility to restore. For Matilda, Robert, and David to know about English history was not just a matter of curiosity, but a most solemn duty.

The history of England's Anglo-Saxon rulers also held numerous moral lessons for their Norman successors. It was not, however, individual betterment alone that William hoped to induce. After all, whenever a ruler proved incapable of acting like a king should act, disaster befell the kingdom: in the tenth century, for instance, Eadwig lost most of his realm when he expelled churchmen, oppressed his nobles, and turned even Malmesbury abbey into a 'bawdy house'.[104] His successor Edgar, by contrast, by his overall virtue and strenuous activity, extended the realm of England, humiliated the Welsh, and witnessed an unprecedented flowering of religious life.[105] That is, a ruler's weaknesses and strengths were not only reflected, but amplified in those of his subjects: the more virtuous the king, the more virtuous and successful his subjects; the more depraved the ruler, the more lascivious, greedy, and rebellious those he ruled.[106] For a king or great noble to act properly, that is, with justice,

au moyen âge: actes du colloque du Centre d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Picardie (Amiens 20–24 mars 1985), ed. Danielle Buschinger, Göppingen 1991, 143–60.

98 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 227–8, 253 (pp. 414–17, 422–3, 468–71).

99 *The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow, 2nd edition, Oxford 1992, 116–19.

100 About this theme see Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066–c. 1220*, Oxford 2003, 56.

101 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 226 (pp. 414–15).

102 Ibid. c. 419 (pp. 758–9). It would probably be mistaken to read the account of Henry I as Edward's prophecy fulfilled: Thomas, *English and Normans*, 164. It was, however, a theme to which he returned when writing the *Historia Novella*. Reporting Matilda's inauguration as Henry's successor, he cited at length her Anglo-Saxon royal pedigree: Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, c. 2 (pp. 6–9). I am grateful to Joanna Huntingdon for alerting me to this point.

103 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, cc. 68, 110, 127–8, 145, 232–4 (pp. 98–103, 158–63, 232–5, 432–7); Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 144–6, 148–52.

104 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 147 (pp. 236–7).

105 Ibid. cc. 148–9 (pp. 238–43).

106 For this quite archaic notion see Marita Blattmann, ' "Ein Unglück für sein Volk": Der Zusammenhang zwischen Fehlverhalten des Königs und Volkswohl in Quellen des 7.–12. Jahrhunderts', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30, 1996, 80–102; Rob Meens, 'Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-Being of the Realm', *EME* 7, 1998, 345–57.

vigour, and piety, was thus a matter not merely of private salvation, but of public welfare.

Similar points were made throughout the *Gesta*: moral failings brought with them political disaster. Edward the Confessor, for instance, had a dream foretelling that England would be ravished by foreigners, and would, after his death, be handed over to Satan for a year. All this, because 'the leading men in England, earls, bishops, and abbots, are servants not of God, but of the Devil'.[107] When outlining the reasons for the Norman Conquest, William elaborated on this: while earlier generations of Anglo-Saxon rulers had excelled in their works of piety and religious patronage, these high standards had been allowed to lapse in the years immediately before 1066. Prelates were no longer sufficiently educated (they barely 'mumbled the words of the sacraments'), while nobles had given in to gluttony and sexual excess. The kingdom's wealth, gained in part by selling the poor as slaves, had been squandered on expensive living: 'arms loaded with gold bracelets, skin tattooed with coloured patterns, eating till they were sick and drinking till they spewed'.[108] The Anglo-Saxons had forfeited the right to rule because of this moral laxity. Because they no longer followed the rules of religion, they were unable to defend the realm; because the prelates had turned their backs on the rules of Church life, Satan was allowed to roam the kingdom.[109] Rulers thus had a solemn responsibility not only to lead by example, but also to ensure that a strict moral code prevailed among their people.

William was, however, too skilled a moralist to adopt an overly moralizing tone. With few exceptions, there were no straightforwardly bad kings in the *Gesta Regum*, and, Henry I apart, few truly good ones. William's failed rulers were individuals who succumbed to the inevitable weakness of human nature, to the temptations of their mighty station, the lures of worldly power. Still, all of them had at least some redeeming features, and many of them were as much victims as they were perpetrators. Good kings, similarly, were good kings despite their faults, and the line separating a good ruler from a tyrant was crossed all too easily. Malmesbury did not confront his readers with caricatures of evil which even the most depraved among them would have found hard to emulate, nor with lifeless ciphers of perfection.[110] Rather, they were presented with a panopticon of human failings, of the dangers and challenges facing those who exercise worldly power, but also with remedies for these failings. They were shown how to mend their errors and atone for their sins, whom to rely upon and whose counsel to seek. If they read the *Gesta* carefully, they, too, could follow in the footsteps of Henry I, who 'while still a youth equipped himself by education to realize his royal hopes', and could use literature as 'a great storehouse of political wisdom, which bears out Plato's opinion that a state would be happy if philosophers were kings, or kings philosophers'.[111]

107 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 226 (pp. 414–15).

108 Ibid. c. 245 (pp. 456–61).

109 He paid a return visit during the final days of Rufus's reign: ibid. c. 331 (pp. 570–1).

110 Joanna Huntingdon's forthcoming study on exemplarity in Anglo-Norman historical writing will deal with this theme in greater detail.

111 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 390 (pp. 710–11). William repeated this line almost verbatim in the final sections of one manuscript of the *Gesta*, addressed to Robert of Gloucester: ibid. c. 449 (pp. 800–1).

III

This was perhaps all the more important a lesson considering the political situation in England at the time of the *Gesta*'s completion, and the role played by Malmesbury's intended audience in the kingdom's affairs. Circumstantial evidence suggests that most of the text was written by *c.* 1125,[112] with Matilda and David receiving their copies probably at some point in 1126.[113] Both the date and the recipients matter: these were the years when the question who was to succeed Henry as king of England gained renewed urgency, and the recipients of the *Gesta Regum* would either succeed the king or play an important role in choosing and advising that successor.[114] The death of William Atheling, Henry's only legitimate son, in 1120 had thrown the succession into turmoil. The king's daughter Matilda was married to the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry V, who, the descendant of an excommunicate and apostate, had seized the throne in open rebellion against his father, was decried a tyrant and oppressor by his nobles, and placed firmly outside the cultural and political norms of the Anglo-Norman realm. Hardly, in short, the kind of king medieval subjects would choose for themselves. By 1125, the situation had changed again: Matilda returned to England a widow, but it was not until 1 January 1127 that she was formally installed as her father's heiress.[115] Even then, the act had to be repeated a few years later.[116] Nor was there any guarantee that Matilda would succeed: David had as good a claim (through his Anglo-Saxon ancestry),[117] and illegitimacy was not yet necessarily enough to prevent suitable candidates from claiming the throne. In the end, David and Robert were foremost among Matilda's supporters: Robert was to negotiate her marriage to Count Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou,[118] while in 1127 David had been among the first to offer his allegiance.[119] None of this, however, had yet become clear in 1125. William of Malmesbury thus completed the *Gesta Regum* at a time when the question who would follow Henry onto the throne was far from settled, and he dedicated his text to those most likely either to succeed the old king, or guide and counsel that successor.

This helps to contextualize the image of Henry I in the *Gesta*. Malmesbury's readers received a historical compendium of the realm they might shortly be called upon to rule. Yet this was not just a matter of satisfying their curiosity: familiarity with the deeds and misdeeds of past rulers provided a means by which they would learn how to become better rulers themselves. At the same time, there was little point in merely providing them with a list of abstract virtues and vices, with a compendium of absolute moral standards. Rather, Malmesbury's readers received, on the one hand, a list of moral duties and a warning as to the pitfalls their exalted station would entail, and, on the other hand and in the guise of Henry I, an example of how duties might be fulfilled and pitfalls shunned. That Henry I was by no means free of faults, that he learned from his mistakes, that he learned 'how to ride his subjects with a lighter rein as time went on',[120] and that he had done so through his

112 Ibid. II, p. xxiv.

113 Ibid. II, 7.

114 Generally, Karl Leyser, 'The Anglo-Norman Succession, 1120–1125', *ANS* 13, 1991 for 1990, 225–41; C. Warren Hollister, 'The Anglo-Norman Succession Debate of 1126: Prelude to Stephen's Anarchy', *JMH* 1, 1975, 19–41.

115 Green, *Henry I*, 193–5; Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, 64–87.

116 In 1130–1. Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, c. 8 (pp. 18–21); Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, 59–60.

117 I am grateful to Judith Green for raising these points.

118 Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, 55–6.

119 Richard Oram, *David I: The King Who Made Scotland*, Stroud 2004, 68–72, 79–80.

120 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 390 (pp. 710–11).

study of history and literature, only made him the more potent a model. Audience and date could also explain other peculiarities in book five. In their edition of the *Gesta*, Michael Winterbottom and Rodney Thomson have drawn attention to the fact that Malmesbury wrote as if Henry were already dead.[121] This would seem odd in a straightforward history of English kings, but it would make good sense in the kind of historical manual and guide to kingship that this paper proposes the *Gesta* to be. The moral message the *Gesta* was meant to convey depended upon the historical context of which Henry formed part, and from which he drew the lessons Malmesbury wanted his readers to take to heart. This did not require that Malmesbury sketch a likeness of the king,[122] but that he illustrate the lessons Henry's example would teach his successor.

There also were good practical reasons why Henry might be described as a model ruler. Henry may not have been a perfect king, but by 1125 he had brought unprecedented peace and stability to his English realm.[123] There were none of the excesses of Rufus's reign, nor of the brutality with which the Conqueror had secured his grip on power. The investiture controversy, while dominating the king's early years, had been settled with relative ease: the level of hostility and the language in which the conflict was conducted were considerably more measured, almost peaceful, than under Rufus or in the Holy Roman Empire. At least, when Henry met the pope (in itself a rare honour for an English king), he, unlike his son-in-law, did not incarcerate him or appoint a more compliant pontiff in his stead. As far as William was concerned, these accomplishments were, however, under threat, and were so from uncertainty over the king's succession, and from a moral laxness among the nobility, eerily reminiscent of Edward's court and Harold's, and that of William Rufus.

When, from *c.* 1138, William wrote the *Historia Novella*, a continuation of the *Gesta* focusing on the outbreak of civil war after 1135, one of the first matters he recorded was the fashion for particularly elaborate hair-styles that had taken hold of the English court in 1128–9.[124] While this may seem a somewhat idiosyncratic token of depravity,[125] the language in which William described and censured it echoed that which he had used elsewhere to illustrate the deterioration in moral standards on the eve of the Norman Conquest, or during the reign of William Rufus (which also manifested itself in a predilection for long hair).[126] Just as the Anglo-Saxons had failed to match the moral standards of their forebears, so Henry's knights endangered the kingdom's moral and political stability. In the past, this kind of moral laxity had always presaged future turmoil – under Edward the Confessor Harold's usurpation and the trauma of conquest, under William Rufus the king's tyranny, and

121 Ibid. II, 354.

122 Quite apart from the fact that the *Gesta*'s recipients possessed much greater familiarity with the king than Malmesbury ever would, which would also allow for the sometimes seemingly ironic tone of the *Gesta* to be accommodated; see, for instance, Malmesbury's notorious statement about Henry's love of chastity: Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 412 (pp. 744–7).

123 R. W. Southern, 'Henry I', in his *Medieval Humanism*, 206–33. The situation was, of course, rather different in Normandy.

124 Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, c. 4 (pp. 10–13).

125 See, however, Robert Bartlett, 'Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages', *TRHS* 6th series 4, 1994, 43–60; Pauline Stafford, 'The Meanings of Hair in the Anglo-Norman World: Masculinity, Reform and National Identity', in *Saints, Scholars and Politicians: Gender as a Tool in Medieval Studies. Festschrift in Honour of Anneke Mulder Bakker*, ed. Mathilde van Dijk and Renée Nip, Turnhout 2005, 153–71. I am grateful to Bill Aird for the latter reference.

126 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, c. 314 (pp. 558–61); *Vita Wulfstani*, in William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, Oxford 2002, 8–155 at 58–9.

under Henry I the succession of his nephew and civil war. The king's subjects had ceased to be vigilant, and were about to be punished for their lack of moral foresight.

All this should have been evident to William's readers. In the past, the achievements of good kings had all too frequently been dissipated by civil strife over the choice of their successor, or by that successor being unwilling to follow in his predecessor's steps. Edgar the Peaceable had thus been succeeded by Æthelred the Unready, Edward the Confessor by Harold, and the Conqueror by Rufus. There was, of course, nothing mechanical and inevitable about this sequence: Æthelred, Harold, and Rufus had failed not because fortune had dictated they do, but because they had refused to take appropriate counsel or to atone for their transgressions, and, above all, because they had failed to heed the lessons of history. There was no reason why Matilda, David, and Robert should not be able to emulate the deeds of Henry I.[127] All this does, however, explain the urgency of William's writing, and the relentless watchfulness he sought to instil among his readers. There was a moral purpose to the *Gesta* that transcended simple concerns of historical curiosity.

In conclusion, the *Gesta* was not meant to provide a historically accurate depiction of the ruling monarch, but a model to be emulated. There was thus no need, for instance, to go into great detail about the investiture controversy: William's account was meant to provide above all a model for his readers to follow. The didactic element was further evident in Henry I's willingness to learn from the past. The king, unlike his peers present or past, had heeded and had fruitfully applied the lessons of history. Everything else sprang from this basic act: the ability to choose advisers with care, to balance rigour with mercy, to be aware of the snares and temptations of secular power, to be watchful of one's own transgressions as much as those of one's people. Yet the *Gesta* was more than just a king's mirror. It outlined the traditions and customs of the kingdom, but above all the patterns of English history, and the duties and tasks these would lay upon Henry's heirs (such as the need to break the cycle of good kings being succeeded by tyrants, for instance, or to join together once more what had been rent asunder in 1066). Read in this fashion, many of the peculiarities in Malmesbury's portrayal of Henry seem less remarkable. Book five thus reveals itself to be not a testimony to Malmesbury's fear of Henry, or a rough draft, but an integral part of the work as a whole, and its logical conclusion.

All this, finally, both reflected and transcended a broader European tradition of writing regnal history. This is not the occasion to offer a detailed analysis of that tradition, but I would like to sketch out at least two points worth further consideration. One is the obvious lack of a complex theoretical model: Malmesbury was no Otto of Freising. Yet he also went much further than any of his contemporaries in trying to tie the history of a kingdom to a series of unchanging principles of political conduct. To a considerable degree this was a matter of language. Malmesbury expressed much of his political thought by resorting to the language of Antiquity. This, as Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn has demonstrated, was not a matter of adopting classical ways of thinking, but of expressing distinctly Augustinian and medieval concepts through the language of classical Antiquity. That is, Malmesbury understood himself to be only the most recent in a long line of writers on history and

127 It was only after completing this paper that I came across Thea Summerfield, '"Ut quod intend …": William van Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*', in *Koningen in Kronieken*, ed. R. E. V. Stuip and C. Vellekoop, Hilversum 1998, 59–76, which explores the cyclical nature of generation and regeneration in the *Gesta Regum* in greater detail.

power, and it was as much this, in his eyes, ancient tradition of moral guidance that he sought to continue and revive, as the knowledge of English history that, he felt, had lain in abeyance since the time of Bede.[128] This may also help to explain the shift, evident in the *Gesta* from book three onwards, towards a Suetonian structure of presenting materials: by writing about English kings in the manner Suetonius had written about the early Caesars, Malmesbury stressed the Antiquity as much as the validity of the moral norms he sought to imbue among his readers.[129] Seeking to reflect the 'long shadow of tradition' was a desire by no means peculiar to Malmesbury. But Cosmas of Prague, for instance, or the Gallus Anonymus viewed that antiquity as rooted in an almost mythical past of the Czech and Polish peoples,[130] and it was to this native tradition that they ostensibly looked in defining the appropriate exercise of ducal or royal power. William may have written a history of English kings, but he understood that to be part of a history and of a set of moral norms rooted in the universal history of Rome and Christendom.[131]

Moreover, the norms that Malmesbury sought to uphold were by no means peculiar to him, and neither was the basic strategy of instruction that he adopted. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, for instance, writing *c.* 1110–13, similarly used Duke Boleslaw I as an exemplar of righteous royal lordship, and offered his readers a list of regal qualities and duties almost identical to that proffered by Malmesbury.[132] Malmesbury is unusual not so much for the ideas he conveyed, as for how he conveyed them. No other writer of regnal history held such high (perhaps even exaggerated) hopes for the study of history as a means of moral betterment. The role of history as a tool for edification and instruction was a common motif among twelfth-century chroniclers, hagiographers, and annalists, but few tied the successful exercise of kingship so firmly to the study of history: neither Boleslaw I nor, in the anonymous *Kaiserchronik*, Otto III was, like Henry I or Robert of Gloucester, singled out, first, for their love of literature, and, second, for their ability to draw appropriate moral and political lessons from their reading. Malmesbury's much-professed love of learning set him apart from his peers, and it may have led him to hold undue expectations of his patrons too.[133]

128 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, pp. 14–15.

129 I am grateful to Neil Wright for raising this point.

130 See, for a convenient overview, Jacek Banaszkiewicz, 'Slavonic *origines regni*: Hero the Law-Giver and Founder of Monarchy (Introductory Survey of Problems)', *Acta Poloniae Historica* 69, 1989, 97–131; idem, 'Königliche Karrieren von Hirten, Gärtner und Pflügern', *Saeculum* 33, 1982, 265–86; Plassmann, *Origo gentis*, 296–303 (Piasts), 324–9 (Přemyslids).

131 It was perhaps for this reason, too, that he so frequently interspersed the history of English affairs with tales, for instance, of Sylvester II (Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, cc. 167–9, 172, 278–89, 292–5), the First Crusade (cc. 343–50, 353–73, 592–613, 620–61; Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 178–88; see also John O. Ward, 'Some Principles of Rhetorical Historiography in the Twelfth Century', in *Classical Rhetoric*, ed. Breisach, 103–65 at 122–6), or the crusade of King Sigurd of Norway (cc. 260, 410). More generally, Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 176 note 198, calculates, based on the Rolls Series edition, that 29.3 per cent of the *Gesta* dealt with non-English matters.

132 *Gesta principum Polonorum*, pp. 46–65.

133 It is worth noting, for instance, how from 1135 he wrote with increasing bitterness about the empress and King David: David was described as a befuddled old man (who only supported King Stephen out of senile good nature: Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, c. 16, pp. 30–1); and the Empress Matilda as a haughty and arrogant woman unfit to rule (ibid. c. 52, pp. 96–9). Although Robert was portrayed as a loyal and steadfast supporter of his half-sister, it was the earl, not the empress, who emerged as Henry's true heir. In fact, William's portrayal of Matilda repeated and amplified the criticism Stephen's partisans had levelled at her: Jean A. Truax, 'Winning over the Londoners: King Stephen, the Empress Matilda, and the Politics of Personality', *HSJ* 8, 1996, 43–61; Blacker, *Faces of Time*, 149–50; David Crouch, 'Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and the Daughter of Zelophehad', *JMH* 11, 1985, 227–43. Similarly, Henry

Malmesbury combined all this with a subtle and humane vision of those living in the world: other writers, too, could make excuses for the failings of kings, but few of his contemporaries would have described the decline and fall of a ruler like William Rufus with quite so much empathy. Yet this was also, as I have sought to argue, a case of Malmesbury exercising his considerable talents as a moralist, who simultaneously held out hope to his audience – everyone slipped and erred, but good kings would be able to atone for past misdeeds – and a most stern warning – the temptations of power could turn even the best of kings into a tyrant and oppressor. One way of guarding against the latter was to seek out suitable advisers, such as Lanfranc or St Anselm. In the absence of such men, however, it was to the study of literature that rulers should turn, as King Henry I had done, and as those should do who could read in the *Gesta Regum* both about the lessons of history and about how King Henry had taken to heart and had applied these lessons.

of Blois, likely patron of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, was bitterly maligned for his association with King Stephen: John Scott, *The Early History of Glastonbury: An Edition*, *Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury's De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, Woodbridge 1991, 3–10; Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, c. 58 (pp. 108–11).

TWELFTH-CENTURY RECEPTIONS OF A TEXT: ANGLO-NORMAN HISTORIANS AND HEGESIPPUS

Neil Wright

Under the name Hegesippus there has come down to us a Latin translation of Josephus' *Jewish War* in five books, probably made in the later fourth century.[1] The precise identity of its author remains unclear. From Late Antiquity onwards the translation was variously but falsely attributed to Jerome, Rufinus, or St Ambrose of Milan, but it is more probably the work of a Jewish convert.[2] Although Hegesippus' *History* usually receives scant attention today, the work had much to recommend it to readers in the Middle Ages. First it is closely allied to the Bible narrative, relating the events which led to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, with an introductory summary of Jewish history from the time of Judas Maccabeus. Moreover, its author injects a strong moral tone, seeing the sack as inevitable retribution for Christ's crucifixion. In addition to the work's close relationship to biblical history and its Christian outlook, it also tells a gripping story full of vivid narrative, effective speeches, horrific incidents, and grisly detail, couched in stylish Latin often reminiscent of Sallust and Virgil.[3] All of this meant that Hegesippus had a wide

[1] *Hegesippi qui dicitur historiae libri v*, ed. Vincent Ussani, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 66, 2 vols, Vienna 1932–60 [hereafter cited as Hegesippus]; the second volume, published after Ussani's death, contains his indices with a preface by Karl Mras. I am extremely grateful to David Dumville, Rosamond McKitterick, and Andy Orchard, all of whom at various times kindly read drafts of this paper and discussed its contents with me.

[2] This is the opinion of Mras, at Hegesippus, II, pp. xxxi–xxxvii; for a different suggestion, which has seemingly found few supporters, see D. G. Morin, 'L'Opuscule perdu du soi-disant Hegesippe sur les Machabees', *Revue Bénédictine* 31, 1914–19, 83–91. It is now generally agreed that the name 'Hegesippus' is a ghost-form which arose through misreading in an early manuscript of the attribution to Josephus; see for example Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter*, Leiden 1972, 56–8. However, for the sake of convenience I have throughout referred to the anonymous translator as Hegesippus.

[3] For Hegesippus' Sallustian and Virgilian borrowings, see Hegesippus, II, 430–2: his list can, however, be expanded. One overlooked Sallustian parallel, for instance, occurs at i.8 (p. 12), 'His dictis *finem imperio uitaeque* dedit', which neatly reworks *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 5.5, 'Sed *imperi uitaeque* eius *finis* idem fuit.' (Here, as elsewhere, parallel words and phrases are given in italics.) Later Hegesippus describes a love affair, which leads to a son's death at the hands of his tyrannical father, in the following terms: 'amoris igniculus obrepsit adulescenti *ignoscendus* profecto, *si scirent* tyranni *ignoscere*' (i.23.1, p. 36). This reworks Orpheus' plight in Virgil's *Georgic*, iv.488–9, 'cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem / *ignoscenda* quidem, *scirent si ignoscere* Manes', the cynical implication of the inherent comparison between *tyranni* and *Manes* being that tyrants are no more than a kind of living dead. In iii.21.1 (p. 225), the state of anxiety in Jerusalem caused by lack of news is depicted as follows: 'quod *ipsa* incertos dum *terrent silentia*, credebantur omnia quae timebantur.' This reflects Aeneas' unease at the emptiness of Troy in *Aeneid*, ii.755, 'horror ubique animi, simul *ipsa silentia terrent*.' Here again there is an ironic twist: Aeneas fears the silence of a city which has already been sacked, whereas Jerusalem's disquiet is that of one whose inevitable end is imminent. More bizarrely (in an allusion noted in Ussani's index), Hegesippus gives the following details of Herod the Great's abortive suicide (i.45.11, p. 125): 'et paulisper *se attollens cubitoque* [HBZ; cubituque Ussani] *adnixus leuauit* cupiens sese ferire.' This echoes the height of Dido's tragedy, when she 'ter *sese attollens cubitoque annixa leuauit* / ter reuoluta toro est' (*Aeneid*, iv.690–1). The piquancy of this reminiscence lies in the contrast between Dido's efforts

circulation and was well known to medieval readers.[4] Because of its popularity, much work remains to be done on the influence of this now neglected text.[5] Here I propose to concentrate on one particular aspect of its reception, namely the effect the work had on four Anglo-Norman historians in the twelfth century. With that end in view, I shall consider some passages in which these authors borrow from Hegesippus, many of which have not previously attracted attention, in order to see how exactly he influenced the content, tone, and style of their histories.

Alfred of Beverley

Alfred (or Alured), treasurer of Beverley minster in south-east Yorkshire, began to compile his *Annales* probably in 1143.[6] He was one of the first readers to react to the problems raised by Geoffrey of Monmouth's audaciously inventive *Historia Regum Britanniae*, which appeared around 1138. In constructing a single coherent narrative from Brutus down to the twelfth century, Alfred attempted, not always convincingly, to reconcile Geoffrey with other more conventional sources, such as Bede.[7] Alfred's efforts demonstrate that he was by no means a man of limited reading. In addition to Geoffrey and Bede, the *Annales* show that he also knew Pompeius Trogus (in Justinus' epitome), Suetonius, Eutropius, Sulpicius Severus, Orosius, Gildas (by which he most probably meant the *Historia Brittonum*), and Henry of Huntingdon. To this list of his sources must now be added Hegesippus, from whom he borrows a passage near the beginning of the *Annales*.

Alfred's text is prefaced by remarks about the circumstances and method of its composition, while the narrative proper begins in traditional manner with a detailed description of the British Isles. Isolated from this description and sandwiched rather awkwardly between the main body of the preface and its final paragraph there occurs the following passage:

> Haec insula *Britannia extra orbem* est *posita, sed Romanorum uirtute in orbem* est *redacta. Quos aetas ignorauit superior, didicit Romanorum uictoria. Seruiunt et ipsi, qui quid esset seruitus ignorabant. Soli sibi noti semper*que *liberi quia a* scienciorum *potencia interfuso occeano secreti, metuere non poterant quo*d *nesciebant*.

> This island of Britain lay at the edge the world, but was returned to it by the courage of the Romans. Their victory discovered a people unknown to previous ages. Now even the Britons are slaves, though they used to have no idea what slavery meant. How could they fear something of which they were ignorant, being known to themselves

to rise after she has already stabbed herself, and Herod's which precede a botched suicide attempt – swiftly prevented by a servant – under the pretence of cutting an apple.

4 Cf. for instance the remarks of Beryl Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages*, London 1974, 38–9.

5 Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, 68–171, surveys *testimonia* to the works of Josephus from the first to the sixteenth centuries, but little has been done specifically on the reception of Hegesippus. In particular, the manuscript tradition of his *History* needs investigation, although for the earlier period the balance has been partially redressed by Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Audience for Latin Historiography in the Early Middle Ages: Text Transmission and Manuscript Dissemination', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter, Vienna 1994, 96–114 at 105.

6 *Aluredi Beuerlacensis Annales siue Historia de Gestis Regum Britanniae*, ed. Thomas Hearne, Oxford 1716 [hereafter cited as *Annales*]. See also J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and its Early Vernacular Versions*, Berkeley CA 1950, 210–11; and Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307,* London 1974, 212.

7 See in particular R. William Leckie Jr, *The Passage of Dominion: Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Periodization of Insular History in the Twelfth Century,* Toronto 1981, 45–6 and 86–92.

alone and always free, separated by the barrier of the Ocean from the power of those more knowledgeable?[8]

Read out of context, it is somewhat difficult to see why Alfred should lay such emphasis on Britain's isolation before the Roman invasions and the unwonted servitude to which her inhabitants were reduced under Roman rule (particularly as both assertions run directly counter to much of his account of the pre-Roman period, derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth). In fact, he is taking over verbatim the same observations in Hegesippus, ii.9.1 (p. 150):

> Testis *est Brittania extra orbem posita sed Romanorum uirtute in orbem redacta. Quos aetas ignorauit superior didicit Romanorum uictoria. Seruiunt et ipsi qui quid esset seruitus ignorabant soli sibi nati* et *semper* sibi *liberi, qui a* superiorum *potentia interfuso occeano secreti metuere non poterant quos nesciebant*.

In Hegesippus, this passage forms part of one of the many showpieces of rhetoric which enliven the narrative. Before the start of the Jewish War Agrippa II makes an impassioned speech to dissuade his subjects from challenging Rome. In the course of this long speech, one of the arguments Agrippa employs is to catalogue Rome's martial exploits. Whereas Alexander the Great was turned back by the Ocean, the Romans, he says, were undaunted by it. There follows the passage quoted above, showing how even the far-flung British were not protected by the sea from a slavery previously unknown to them.[9]

Alfred of Beverley thus represents one very common approach to a historical text: that is, the concern to abstract from it material germane to an author's own central theme, in this case the history of Britain. Hegesippus serves Alfred as an *auctoritas* whose comments about the British Isles, sanctioned by the classical tradition, can be taken over as part of his own compilation on British history, even though they were in fact originally part of a speech which Hegesippus placed in the mouth of a Jewish king. Once we recognize Alfred's borrowing, which, in contrast with his usual practice with source material, he does not explicitly attribute to Hegesippus, we may certainly admire his thorough knowledge of his sources and industry in assembling material relevant to his project. The way in which he redeploys the passage is, however, less sensitive. He is not concerned with its origin in an emotional speech where it is part of a string of *exempla* designed to persuade. He simply takes it over wholesale and out of context, so that a piece of rhetorical hyperbole is transformed into a historical note. At least as far as Hegesippus is concerned, then, Alfred's method largely is one of unmodified excerption.

8 *Annales*, i, p. 3. All translations are from the editions cited, if they include one; otherwise they are my own.

9 Given our present ignorance of the text-transmission of Hegesippus, it is difficult to tell whether the minor divergences between the two passages are due to Alfred himself or the manuscript on which he relied: in the penultimate line he shares the reading *quia a* (as opposed to *qui a*) with a fragment in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 13367, fols 235v.–240v. (s. vi–vii, Ussani's P), but this may be coincidental; the following word *scientiorum* (as opposed to *superiorum* in Hegesippus) may represent a misreading of a manuscript abbreviation on Hearne's part (cf. his note in *Annales*, 154). None of Alfred's other variants is recorded in Ussani's apparatus.

Geoffrey of Monmouth

Alfred's basic approach to Hegesippus, if not his rather prosaic execution of it, had already been anticipated by his primary source, Geoffrey of Monmouth, who may indeed have pointed Alfred to the passage quoted above. As we might, however, expect from the arch-hoaxer of the twelfth century, Geoffrey's use of Hegesippus is, like that of all his sources, a good deal more sophisticated.[10] Geoffrey's *History* was conceived as a revolutionary new account of the greatness and decline of Britain from its Trojan origins down to the seventh century AD and beyond.[11] It was immediately and almost universally successful, part of its attraction lying in the way in which it cast seductive new light on the past. Geoffrey's innovation can, for instance, be observed in his account of Julius Caesar's invasions of Britain. Prior to Geoffrey, the standard version was that of Bede, which was based on Orosius and so largely saw things from the Roman perspective.[12] Conversely, the British played a larger role in one of Geoffrey's main sources, the *Historia Brittonum*, but its version of events was somewhat scrappy and unpolished.[13] Armed with these main ingredients, Geoffrey mixed a heady tale of British heroism striving courageously for ancestral liberty, yet tragically doomed to failure, more through the besetting sin of internal strife than by any efforts on the part of the Romans.[14]

One way in which Geoffrey dresses up this construct as history is the inclusion of supposedly authentic documents, so turning a topos of the genre of historiography to his own advantage. As we shall see, one such document has a part to play in his account of the Roman invasions. Geoffrey begins by imagining Caesar arriving at the coast of Gaul and catching sight of Britain. After bystanders inform him about the inhabitants of the island, Caesar recognizes their common descent from Aeneas, but asserts that the now degenerate British can easily be subjugated:

> Sed nisi fallor ualde degenerati sunt a nobis nec quid sit militia nouerunt cum infra occeanum *extra orbem* commaneant. Leuiter cogendi erunt tributum nobis dare et continuum obsequium Romanae diginitati praestare.
>
> But, unless I am mistaken, they are no longer our equals and have no idea of soldiering, since they live at the edge of the world amid the Ocean. We shall easily force them to pay tribute to us and obey Roman authority forever.[15]

To avoid spilling the blood of kinsmen, however, Caesar sends to the British king Cassibellaunus demanding his submission to the senate. In reply Cassibellaunus returns an angry letter, which Geoffrey quotes in full. It begins as follows:

10 On Geoffrey's treatment of his sources, see N. Wright, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas', *Arthurian Literature* 2, 1982, 1–40; and idem, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Bede', *Arthurian Literature* 6, 1986, 27–59. For his whimsy in general, see C. N. L. Brooke, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth as a Historian', in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. N. L. Brooke and others, Cambridge 1976, 77–91; and V. I. J. Flint, 'The *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Parody and its Purpose: A Suggestion', *Speculum* 54, 1979, 447–68.

11 *Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain. An Edition and Translation of De Gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, ed. Michael D. Reeve and trans. Neil Wright, Woodbridge 2007 [hereafter cited as *Historia Regum Britanniae*].

12 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i.2, ed. Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum Historia Abbatum Epistola ad Ecgbertum una cum Historia Abbatum auctore anonymo,* 2 vols, Oxford 1896, where Bede's borrowings from Orosius are conveniently indicated by the use of italic type.

13 *Historia Brittonum*, §§19–20, ed. John Morris, *Nennius, British History and The Welsh Annals*, Chichester 1980.

14 *Historia Regum Britanniae*, §§54–63.

15 Ibid. §54.

> Cassibellaunus rex Britonum Gaio Iulio Caesari. Miranda est, Caesar, Romani populi cupiditas, qui quicquid est auri uel argenti sitiens nequit nos infra pericula occeani *extra orbem positos* pati quin census nostros appetere praesumat quos hactenus quiete possedimus. Nec hoc quidem sufficit nisi postposita libertate subiectionem ei faciamus perpetuam seruitutem subituri. Opprobrium itaque tibi petiuisti, Caesar, cum communis nobilitatis uena Britonibus et Romanis ab Aenea defluat et eiusdem cognationis una et eadem catena prefulgeat, qua in firmam amiticiam coniungi deberent. Illa a nobis petenda esset, non seruitus, quia eam potius largiri didicimus quam seruitutis iugum deferre. Libertatem namque in tantum consueuimus habere quod prorsus *ignoramus quid* sit *seruituti* oboedire.

> Cassibellaunus king of the Britons sends greetings to Gaius Julius Caesar. The greed of the Roman people, Caesar, is remarkable, who in their thirst for gold and silver cannot, though we live at the world's edge amid the perils of the Ocean, forgo seeking the wealth that we have so far enjoyed in peace. If that were not enough, they also demand we submit and become their slaves forever. Your request disgraces you, Caesar, since Briton and Roman share the same blood-line from Aeneas, a shining chain of common ancestry which ought to bind us in lasting friendship. Friendship, not slavery, is what you should have asked us for, since we are more accustomed to give that than to bear the yoke of servitude. We are so used to freedom that we have no idea what it is to serve a master.[16]

Among the objections Cassibellaunus raises we recognize the familiar references to the isolated position of the British and their ignorance of servitude, although Geoffrey also introduces a further theme familiar to his twelfth-century audience, namely condemnation of Roman greed.[17]

Jacob Hammer long ago pointed out Geoffrey's debt to Hegesippus in these passages.[18] The references to the British being *extra orbem* and *extra orbem positos* clearly recall Hegesippus' expression 'Britannia *extra orbem posita*' (ii.9.1, above); and Cassibelaunus' assertion that he and his subjects 'prorsus *ignoramus quid sit seruituti* obedire' is evidently an effective expansion of *'quid esset seruitus ignorabant*' (ibid.).[19] However, these borrowings have implications beyond the merely verbal. As I remarked at the outset, Geoffrey's approach to Hegesippus as a source is basically similar to Alfred of Beverley's. He has been struck by a passage dealing with Roman invaders which refers explicitly to the history of Britain. Yet unlike Alfred, Geoffrey does not incorporate the passage into his own work verbatim, but

16 Ibid. §55.

17 For other examples, see Josef Benzinger, *Inuectiua in Romam: Romkritik im Mittelalter vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert,* Lübeck 1968.

18 Jacob Hammer, 'Les Sources de Geoffrey de Monmouth *Historia Regum Britanniae*, IV,2', *Latomus* 5, 1946, 79–82 (Hammer employed an internal division of Geoffrey's text into books rather than paragraphs; for a comparative table, see *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, I: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568*, ed. Neil Wright, Cambridge 1984, 172–4). His further contention that Geoffrey's reference to the avarice of the Romans is borrowed directly from Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 81.1 (no close verbal parallel being adduced) is unconvincing given the commonplace nature of such accusations (see note 17 above). On the general question of Geoffrey's use of Hegesippus, I also remain unconvinced by the suggestion that he was inspired to call King Arthur's chief Roman adversary Lucius because the two names are linked in another, quite unconnected passage of the translation (Hegesippus, v.39, p. 380), a hypothesis which was advanced by J. J. Parry, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Josephus', *Speculum* 2, 1927, 446–7.

19 A slight complication is that, as Hammer noted (p. 81, note 3), Hegesippus' initial description of the Britons is also employed by Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ix.2.102, 'gens intra Oceanum interfuso mari quasi *extra orbem posita*', another passage which may well have influenced Geoffrey, who similarly mentions the British being *infra occeanum* (§54, above); since, however, there is no reference to the Britons' ignorance of slavery in Isidore, that part at least of the passage must come directly from Hegesippus.

instead moulds it, as he habitually does, to his own ends, changing both the sense and the context of the original. We have seen how in Hegesippus the passage concerned had a pro-Roman bias. The British were held up by King Agrippa as an example of the futility of resisting Rome's might, from which neither the islanders' isolation nor their ignorance of slavery could protect them. From the Jewish perspective, the distant British appeared as exotic and uncultivated victims of Rome. Geoffrey stands this view on its head. For him the Romans' willingness to cross the Ocean to invade Britain is not a sign of their restless courage, but merely another manifestation of their notorious greed, which leads them to launch an initially disastrous attack on their blood-brothers. As for their opponents, the Britons' unfamiliarity with slavery is not due to any backwardness or lack of civilization on their part, but is inherent in their traditional championing of liberty, a trait which brings them into conflict with Rome over and over again in Geoffrey's *History*.

In this passage, then, Geoffrey is as fiercely partial to the British as Agrippa was to Rome. Indeed, this polemic stance is itself part of Geoffrey's transformation of the Hegesippan original. Unlike Alfred of Beverley, who simply incorporated Agrippa's remarks into his *Annales*, Geoffrey has carefully contextualized his borrowing. Since Agrippa was in his speech referring to the Roman invasions of Britain, Geoffrey duly transfers his words in revised form to their correct chronological position in his narrative. He does not, however, forget their origin in one of Hegesippus' set-piece speeches. Geoffrey too wished his *History* to be animated by bold rhetoric, as many similar passages amply demonstrate. Therefore he not only inverts Agrippa's pro-Roman bias, but also incorporates his Hegesippan borrowings in a highly emotive letter of his own invention. Evidently he intended Cassibelaunus' missive to Caesar to be just as memorable for the reader as was Agrippa's original address to his subjects. In historiographical terms, then, Geoffrey's bold response to his source reveals that he was influenced as much by Hegesippus' rhetoric as by his subject-matter. In short, Geoffrey's treatment of Hegesippus is exactly what might be expected from this past master of imaginative recasting and transformation of sources.

Henry of Huntingdon

A far more conventional writer than Geoffrey was Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, whose *Historia Anglorum* appeared in a number of versions, the latest bringing his narrative down to the accession of Henry II in 1154.[20] The first versions, down to 1129, originally contained only seven books. However, in the subsequent version, which continued to 1138, new matter was added as books VIII and IX, and the historical narrative resumed in book X, a format which was retained in the later versions (to 1146, 1149, and 1154).[21] It is with book X that we shall be concerned, since it contains two passages in which Hegesippus' influence is strong.

One of the most pronounced traits in book X is Henry's fondness for including dramatic speeches in the manner of Sallust and the classical historians. Before the battle of Lincoln in 1141, for instance, Henry records harangues by the earls of

20 Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People,* ed. and trans. Diana Greenway, Oxford 1996.

21 For a discussion of the various versions of the work, see ibid. pp. lxvi–lxxvii.

Chester and Gloucester on one side and Baldwin fitz Gilbert on the other.[22] Similarly before the battle of the Standard against the Scots in 1138 the bishop of the Orkneys delivers a long address to the assembled Anglo-Norman forces. His speech begins as follows:

> Proceres Anglie, clarissimi Normannigene, *meminisse enim uestri uos nominis et generis preliaturos decet*: perpendite, qui et contra quos et ubi *bellum geratis*.
>
> Noblemen of England, renowned sons of Normandy, before you go into battle you should call to mind your reputation and origin; consider well who you are and against whom and where you are fighting this battle.[23]

After thus reminding his audience of their ancestry and situation, the bishop briefly lists their conquests in France, England, Italy, and the Holy Land. He then continues:

> Nunc autem Scotia, uobis rite subiecta, repellere conatur, inermem *preferens temeritatem, rixe quam pugne aptior*. In quibus quidem *nulla uel rei militaris scientia, uel preliandi peritia, uel moderandi gratia*.
>
> Now, however, Scotland, rightly subjected to you, attempts to thrust you back, displaying unarmed rashness, more fitted for brawl than battle. There is among them no knowledge of military matters, experience in battle, or regard for discipline.[24]

Next the bishop condemns the madness of the Scots in invading England, seeing them as driven on by God so as to face His retribution. He goes on to contrast the arms and numbers of the opposing sides:

> *Attollite igitur animos, uiri* elegantes, *et aduersus* hostem nequissimum, *freti uirtute patria* – immo, Dei praesentia – *exsurgite. Neque uos* temeritas eorum *moueat, cum illos tot nostre uirtutis insignia non deterreant. Illi nesciunt* armari se *in bello*, uos *in pace armis exercem*ini, *ut in bello casus belli dubios non sentia*tis. *Tegitur* uobis *galea caput, lorica pectus*, ocreis crura, *totumque clipeo corpus. Ubi feriat hostis non repperi*t, *quem ferro septum circumspicit*. Procedentes *igitur aduersus inermes ac nudos* quid dubitamus? An numerum? Sed *non tam numerus* multorum, *quam uirtus paucorum bellum conficit. Multitudo enim discipline insolens ipsa sibi est impedimento in prosperis ad uictoriam, in aduersis ad fugam*.
>
> So lift up your spirits, gentlemen, and rise up against the evil enemy, trusting to the bravery of your country and, still more, to the presence of God. Do not let their rashness move you, because the many accomplishments of our valour do not frighten them. They do not know how to arm themselves in war, while you exercise your arms even in peacetime, so that in war you may feel no doubt of its outcome. Your head is covered by a helmet, your breast by a hauberk, your legs by greaves, your whole body by a shield. Your enemy cannot find where to strike when he looks carefully and discovers that you are enclosed in steel. What is there to doubt as we march forward against the unarmed and naked? Their numbers? But it is not so much numerical superiority as the courage

22 Ibid. x.14–17, pp. 726–37. Indeed, the introduction to Robert's speech, 'et in loco stans eminenti *huiuscemodi orationem habuit*' ('and standing on raised ground he delivered the following speech') (x.14, pp. 726–7), may recall that to Catiline's final oration, 'Itaque contione aduocata *huiuscemodi orationem habuit*' (*Bellum Catilinae*, 57.5). Certainly Henry echoes Sallust in *Historia Anglorum*, ii.13 (pp. 94–5), '*Bellum scripturus sum quod* Nazaleod, rex maximus Britannorum, egit contra Certic et Cinric' ('I am going to describe the battle which Natanleod, the great British king, fought against Cerdic and Cynric'); compare *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 5.1, '*Bellum scripturus sum quod* populus Romanus cum Iugurtha rege Numidarum gessit', a reminiscence which was first noted by Hans Lamprecht, *Untersuchungen uber einige englische Chronisten des zwolften und des beginnenden dreizehnten Jahrhunderts,* Inaugural-Dissertation, Torgau 1937, 180–1.

23 Huntingdon, x.8, pp. 714–15.

24 Ibid.

> of the few that wins a war. For a host that is unaccustomed to discipline is a hindrance to itself, both to victory when things go well, and to flight when things go badly.[25]

After this dazzling display of rhetoric, the bishop's address closes with further pious exhortations, as befitting a speech delivered by a prominent cleric.

Orations of this kind are, as I remarked above, very much in the manner of the historians of Antiquity. In fact, in this case Henry's admiration for the classical past led him to follow one chosen model very closely indeed. Hegesippus' narrative also, as we have seen, abounds in speeches, one of which is delivered by the Roman commander Titus as he encourages his troops to engage their Jewish foes. Titus' exhortation begins as follows:

> 'Uiri' inquit 'Romani – *meminisse enim uestri uos nominis et generis proeliaturos decet*, quorum manus nemo effugit qui in orbe Romano est. Unde enim hoc nomen uniuersis terris nisi uincendo dedistis? Meminisse etiam loci oportet, in quo nunc sitis et aduersum quos Romani *bellum geratis*.'

> 'Men of Rome,' he said, 'before you go into battle you should call to mind your reputation and origin; no one in the Roman world has eluded your grasp. How have you established this world-wide reputation except by conquest? You should call to mind where you now find yourselves and against whom you Romans are fighting this battle.'[26]

Comparison with the opening of the bishop of the Orkneys' address (above) reveals how Henry has partly taken over Titus' words verbatim, partly compressed them. Moreover, Henry's debt is by no means limited to this single borrowing. To return to Titus' speech, after reminding the Romans where they are, he then contrasts the enemies they have conquered with the contemptible foes they now face:

> Quos non Hasdrubal Poenus, non Pyrrus Aeacides, non Brennus Capitolinis uestibulis incumbens, non Persarum cateruae, non Aegyptiae phalanges statuere potuerunt, hos statuit rebellis Iudaea ineruditam *praeferens* bellandi *temeritatem, rixae quam pugnae aptior*.

> Men who could not be stopped by Hannibal the Carthaginian, by Pyrrhus, descendant of Aeacus, by Brennus at the doors of our Capitoline mansions nor by swarms of Persians or Egyptian phalanxes are being held off by Jewish rebels, displaying ignorant rashness, more fitting for brawl than battle.[27]

Titus' initial references to the famous Carthaginians, Macedonians, and Gauls whom Rome has defeated doubtless provided the inspiration for the bishop of the Orkneys' similar allusions to the Normans' victories in France, England, Italy, and the Holy Land (above). Thereafter Titus' dismissal of the Jewish rebels' rashness, *temeritas*, is directly reapplied almost without modification to the invading Scots. By far Henry's longest borrowing from Titus' speech, however, is drawn from a point slightly later, where Roman bravery, experience, and equipment are favourably compared to those of the undisciplined, ill-equipped multitude which opposes them:

> *Adtollite igitur animos*, Romani *uiri, et aduersum cateruas hostium freti patria uirtute exsurgite. Neque uos* numerus *moueat* plebis Iudaeae, *cum illos tot nostrae uirtutis insignia non deterreant*, quae longe numero ualidiora sunt. Neque enim *ulla in* Hebraeis *uel rei militaris scientia uel proeliandi peritia uel moderandi gratia*, nullus

25 Ibid.
26 Hegesippus, iii.24.1, p. 228.
27 Ibid.

disciplinae usus, nulla tolerandi patientia. … *Illi nesciunt* arma nisi *in bello*, nos *in pace armis exercemur, ut in bello casus belli dubios non sentia*mus. … Progredimur in bellum muniti undique, *tegitur galea caput, lorica pectus totumque clipeo corpus. Ubi feriat hostis* Romanum militem *reperire non* potest, *quem ferro saeptum circumspicit. Aduersum inermos igitur ac nudos* proelium nobis est. … Deinde in ipso pedestri certamine *non tam* plurium *numerus conficit* pugnam *quam uirtus paucorum. Multitudo enim disciplinae insolens ipsa sibi est impedimento in prosperis ad uictoriam, in aduersis ad fugam*.[28]

Henry has omitted a few points, recast and rearranged others, but the fact remains that almost half of the set-piece speech which he puts in the mouth of the Anglo-Norman bishop is borrowed directly from Hegesippus.

It is all too evident from his extensive pillaging of Titus' harangue that Henry, like Geoffrey of Monmouth, admired Hegesippus not simply as a historical source but also as a stylistic model. Nevertheless Henry's approach is somewhat different from Geoffrey's. Unlike Geoffrey (and Alfred of Beverley) he is not concerned to isolate passages which deal specifically with Britain or with other topics directly relevant to his *Historia Anglorum*. It is Hegesippus' manner rather than his matter which Henry appropriates. To an extent, this runs parallel to the way in which, as we have seen, Geoffrey of Monmouth responded to Hegesippus' rhetoric, borrowing expressions from a speech in order to redeploy them in modified form in a highly emotional letter. Geoffrey, though, wove something quite new from a couple of verbal cues, almost completely disguising his source in the process. Henry, on the other hand, while he does make some minor modifications, simply takes over chunks of Titus' speech verbatim. The most significant change he does make is totally to alter the original context of his borrowings, so that in the bishop of the Orkneys' version of Titus' address the Anglo-Normans are made to play the role of the Roman conquerors, the Scots the part of the doomed Jewish rebels – and Henry, by implication at least, is cast as Hegesippus himself. In other words, Henry is using his source as a kind of mirror, in which contemporary events and people can be seen reflected in the light of the classical tradition, a tradition in which moreover Henry's *History* too is thus firmly located.

This approach to Hegesippus is also manifest in another of Henry's borrowings, this time at the very beginning of book X. The book opens dramatically with an obituary of Henry I, which presents two opposing verdicts on the king's reign:

Defuncto igitur Henrico rege magno, *libera ut in* mortuo *solent iudicia populi depromebantur*. Alii eum tribus uehementer irradiasse splendoribus asserebant. Sapientia summa. Nam et consilio profundissimus et prouidentia conspicuus et eloquentia clarus habebatur. Uictoria etiam. Quia exceptis aliis quae egregie gesserat, regem Francorum lege belli superauerat. Diuiciis quoque. Quibus omnes antecessores suos longe longeque precesserat. Alii autem diuerso studio tribus illum uiciis inficiebant. Cupiditate nimia, qua – ut omnes parentes sui – pauperes opulentus tributis et exactionibus inhians, delatoriis hamis intercipiebat. Crudelitate etiam, qua consulem de Moretoil cognatum suum in captione positum exoculauit. Nec sciri facinus tam horrendum potuit, usque quo mors secreta regis aperuit. Nec minus et alia proponebant exempla que tacemus. Luxuria quoque, quia mulierum dicioni regis more Salomonis continue subiacebat. Talia uulgus liberum diuersificabat. Successu uero temporis atrocissimi quod postea per Normannorum rabiosas prodiciones exarsit, quicquid Henricus fecerat uel tirannice uel regie, comparatione deteriorum uisum est peroptimum.

28 Ibid. pp. 229–30.

As usually happens when a man dies, the frank opinions of the people came out after the death of Henry, the great king. Some said that in him there shone three brilliant qualities. Supreme wisdom, for he was regarded as most profound in counsel, distinguished for his foresight and renowned for his eloquence. Then military victory, since among many outstanding feats, he had conquered the French king by the law of warfare. And wealth, in which he had far and away surpassed all his predecessors. Others, however, of another school of thought, blackened him for three vices. Excessive greed, in that, like all his kin, although rich, he yearned for tribute and taxes and trapped the poor with snares laid by informers. Then cruelty, in that he put out the eyes of his kinsman, the count of Mortain, while he was his captive: this fearful villainy was not known until death revealed the king's secrets, and other examples, no less appalling, came to light, which I shall pass over in silence. And debauchery, since he was at all times subject to the power of women, after the manner of King Solomon. The common people embroidered such tales at will. But in the dreadful time that followed, which was set on fire by the mad treacheries of the Normans, what Henry had done – whether in the manner of a tyrant or of a king – seemed by comparison with worse, to be the summit of excellence.[29]

The overall effect here is somewhat reminiscent of Tacitus (although there is no evidence to suggest that the classical historian was known to Henry). Although the paired assessments purport to be balanced, the list of the king's three vices, greed, cruelty, and debauchery, comes second, and consequently rather outweighs that of his virtues, wisdom, victory, and wealth.[30]

Indeed, in the opening sentence of the passage another hitherto unnoticed borrowing also serves to place King Henry in a bad light. Just as Henry's final book begins with an obituary of the king, so Hegesippus began book two of his *History* with an appraisal of Herod the Great, which is moreover entirely negative. It begins as follows:

Sepulto [Sepulto *igitur* AC] Herode *libera ut in* defunctos [*defuncto* ACH] *solent iudicia populi depromebantur*: grauem fuisse illum et intolerabilem sibi; iniusta imperia in ciues exercuisse tyrannum non regem; suorum parricidam domesticum, expoliatorem publicum, nemini quicquam dereliquisse; tributum additum, exhausta omnia, locupletatos alienigenas, Iudaeos exinanitos; qui templum hostem induxerit, sacra omnia sacrilegio contaminarit. Beatos qui defecissent, cum tormenta uiuentibus non deessent, … Immitiorem Dario, Artaxerxe superbiorem, Medis rapaciorem.

As usually happens when a man dies, frank opinions of the people came out after Herod's burial: he had been harsh and unbearable to them; he had ruled his citizens unjustly, more like a tyrant than a king; in private he had murdered his family, in public had been a plunderer who left nothing for anyone; tax had been increased, everything squeezed dry, foreigners enriched, Jews bankrupted; he had brought the enemy into the temple and polluted everything holy by this sacrilege. The dead were the lucky ones, life was torture … He had been crueller than Darius, haughtier than Artaxerxes, more predatory than the Medes.[31]

Once again Henry follows Hegesippus' lead. Although he develops his portrait of King Henry rather differently, the inspiration for his obituary was clearly provided by Hegesippus, from whom Henry borrowed his first sentence almost verbatim.[32]

29 Huntingdon, x.1, pp. 698–701.

30 As Greenway points out, Henry also mentions the same three virtues in a more positive verdict on the king, ibid. vii.26, pp. 456–7.

31 Hegesippus, ii.1.1, pp. 128–9.

32 As I have indicated in the text, some of Henry's apparent verbal changes may in fact reflect variant

In Henry's case, then, we have seen him turning to Hegesippus much more as a literary model than as a historical source. His predecessor provides him with material for a classicizing speech and an impressive opening for his final book. This latter borrowing in particular, however, faces us squarely with a question of audience reception, which we have not so far considered. Did Henry expect some at least of his readers to recognize and appreciate his allusions, as the popularity of Hegesippus in the Middle Ages would surely suggest they could? There has long been a tendency among scholars to regard Henry as a somewhat artless writer. Those who espouse this view might be tempted to dismiss Henry's borrowings as pilfering, and to think that by recognizing them we have caught him red-handed supplementing his own meagre talents with another man's words. That, however, would be to adopt a highly anachronistic attitude. Given that Henry worked in a tradition where imitation counted as the sincerest form of flattery, simple notions of plagiarism are hardly helpful when discussing something as complicated as twelfth-century historiography.

The problem of audience reaction remains to be addressed, however. If some readers did, as seems likely, recognize Henry's reliance on Hegesippus, one level on which they may have responded to his borrowings is that suggested above, namely to see Henry's narrative as enhanced by the diction and conventions of Antiquity. The victory of the Anglo-Normans at the battle of the Standard, for example, acquires greater importance and glory if it is appreciated that Henry's borrowings implicitly invest it with the trappings and dignity of an imperial Roman campaign. Likewise the obituary of Henry I is deliberately positioned so as to recall the impressive opening of Hegesippus' second book, so that Henry's demise partakes of the same epoch-making significance as that of Herod the Great.

Henry's obituary may also, however, work in a different, more subversive way. Hegesippus' narrative of Herod the Great's life had taken up most of his first book. It is a story of effective foreign policy fatally marred by palace intrigue, which does nothing to improve the villainous reputation Herod already enjoyed in the Bible. By the end of his life the old tyrant had cruelly wiped out most of his family in a succession of murders and show-trials. The harsh judgements passed after Herod's death therefore come as no surprise. For the reader who recognizes that Henry of Huntingdon takes over the opening of his critique of Henry I directly from that of Herod, the passage is thus given a further twist. Henry ostensibly offers a balanced assessment of the king's virtues and vices; and with hindsight concludes that his reign, whether tyrannical or not, was mild in comparison with the anarchy which followed under King Stephen. Nevertheless, as I observed earlier, Henry I's vices do appear to outweigh his virtues. This negative tone becomes all the more pronounced if it is realized that Henry I is also, by implication at least, being compared to the murderous and lustful Herod. Henry of Huntingdon is careful to appear impartial, reticently claiming to suppress 'alia … exempla' of the king's cruelty 'quae tacemus' (above). Yet for the alert reader he is at the same time, by borrowing from Hegesippus, silently tipping the scales further against the king by associating him with the biblical tyrant. It would be superfluous to speculate here exactly what opinion of the king Henry himself held.[33] But it is clear enough from this passage

readings (which occur in Ussani's manuscripts ACH), although it would be unwise to speculate until more work has been done on the transmission of Hegesippus in the twelfth century. Unfortunately no further textual evidence can be gleaned from Henry's later Hegesippan borrowings in the speech in x.8 (set out above).

33 His pronouncements on Henry are, as might be expected, harsh in his letter *De Contemptu Mundi*,

that on one occasion at least, when Henry of Huntingdon thought of King Henry I, he thought at the same time of Herod the Great, no very flattering comparison for the king.[34] Once Henry's borrowings from Hegesippus are seen in this light, they can be recognized as far more than mere plagiarism. Rather, their allusive quality has an important contribution to make to the literary texture and effectiveness of Henry's *Historia*.

William of Malmesbury

The last Anglo-Norman historian to claim our attention is William of Malmesbury, who is unquestionably the most sophisticated in his habits of literary borrowing. He was for his time a man of phenomenal learning, who deserves to be regarded as one of the best-read Europeans of the twelfth century; it has been estimated that 'he knew, at first hand, at least some four hundred works of two hundred authors'.[35] William drew constantly on this immense stock of knowledge when composing his own works. To take classical poetry as an example, his familiarity with, among others, Virgil and Lucan was profound indeed; seemingly he held their works at his fingertips, being able to cite them, to borrow striking phrases, and to echo their diction at will, often in contexts which add new point to his reminiscences.[36] In the light of such erudition we may therefore legitimately ask whether Hegesippus was among the texts devoured by this voracious reader; and, if so, to what extent and in what ways the prior historian served him too as a model.

An affirmative answer to the first question is supplied by William himself in book

§12 (Huntingdon, pp. 604–7), which is included as part of book viii in the later versions of the *Historia*. The allusion to Herod also adds weight to Greenway's suggestion (p. 698, note 1) that the description of King Henry as 'consilio profundissimus' may imply criticism if it is intended to recall Isaiah 29:15: 'Vae qui profundi estis corde, ut a domino abscondatis consilium.'

34 In the 1154 recension Henry softened the criticisms of Henry's vices, recasting the relevant passage as follows (printed by Greenway, pp. 698–701): 'Alii autem diuerso studio, quibus erat mens humili lesisse ueneno, summa nimia cupiditate repletum asserebant, qua populum tributis et exactionibus inhians, delatoriis hamis intercipiebat. Sed hec affirmantes non attendebant quod licet summe probitatis esset, unde timori omnibus circumhabitantibus erat, tamen ipsa thesauri maximi copia timorem ipsius non mediocriter hostibus augebat. Terrasque suas, mari intercalatas, summa pace et felicitate regebat, et quot habitacula inerant, tot inerant castella. Sic diuersi diuersa sentiebant' ('Others, however, of another school of thought, whose intention was to injure him with base venom, maintained that he was filled with enormously excessive greed, in that he yearned for tribute and taxes and trapped the people with snares laid by informers. But those who asserted this did not pay due attention to the fact that through his supreme prowess, he was held in awe by all his neighbours, the very abundance of his vast treasure increasing still more his enemies' fear of him, and that he ruled his lands, although divided by sea, in peace and prosperity, as if their every little dwelling was a castle. Thus different people expressed different views'). All the same, Henry did not modify his initial borrowing from Hegesippus nor its implied criticism. Henry was also hostile in his epigram on the volunteer who split the dead king's head with an axe to extract his suppurating brain; when the man dies in the attempt, Henry comments, 'Hic est ultimus e multis quem rex Henricus occidit' ('He was the last of many whom King Henry put to death') (x.2, pp. 702–3), words which are omitted from only one of the manuscripts containing the 1154 versions (BL, Royal MS 13.B.vi, Greenway's Rb, which is described on p. cxxxviii).

35 Rodney Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, Woodbridge 1987, 7 (2nd edn, 2003, 10); Thomson offers a convenient survey of William's erudition in chapter 3, 'William's reading', and appendix I (appendix II in 2nd edn), 'Handlist of works known to William at first hand'.

36 See my studies, 'William of Malmesbury and Latin Poetry: Further Evidence for a Benedictine's Reading', *Revue Bénédictine* 101, 1991, 122–53; and '"Industriae Testimonium": William of Malmesbury and Latin Poetry Revisited', ibid. 103, 1993, 482–531.

four of his *Gesta Regum*, a work which he completed around 1125.[37] In the course of his account of the First Crusade, he brings the westerners to Antioch in Syria and comments:

> Octobris mensis nonae uoluebantur, quando Antiochiam Syriae uenere. Cuius situm commemorarem, nisi auiditatem meam preoccuparet Ambrosiana in Egesippo facundia.
>
> It was already 7 October, when they reached Antioch in Syria. I would describe the situation of Antioch were not my eagerness forestalled by the eloquence of Ambrose in his Hegesippus.[38]

William asserts that his urge to describe the city is curbed by having been pre-empted by Hegesippus' sketch (in book three of his *History*). The reader who is familiar with the practices of rhetoric will not, however, be surprised to learn that William overcomes these qualms and does go on to describe Antioch in the following chapter. Two reminiscences in that passage confirm that he did draw directly on Hegesippus. First William notes that Antioch was, 'post Romam et Constantinopolim et Alexandriam quarto per orbem loco cunctis ciuitatibus prelata' ('next to Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria … exalted to fourth place among all the cities of the world').[39] This both condenses and explains information given by Hegesippus: 'Urbs tertio loco ante ex omnibus, quae in orbe Romano sunt ciuitatibus, aestimata, nunc quarto, postquam Constantinopolim excreuit ciuitas Byzantinorum' ('Formerly the city was considered third of all those in the Roman world, but is fourth now that Byzantium has grown to become Constantinople.').[40] William makes it clear that Alexandria was the other city involved in Hegesippus' calculations. Second, William describes the waters of the nearby river Orontes as '*fluentis* rapacibus, et *ipso impetu frigidioribus*' ('fast-flowing waters, made even colder by their headlong course'), which slightly expands Hegesippus' similar reference to its *'fluentis ipso impetu frigidioribus*'. In contrast with these two verbal reminiscences, however, the rest of William's description is largely independent from his model. Where they do overlap, William often, as in the two examples already cited, gives additional details. For instance, whereas Hegesippus states that the Orontes 'non longe ab urbe in mare conditur' ('meets the sea not far from the city'), William says with more precision (and a change of vocabulary) that the river 'duodecimo ab urbe miliario accipitur pelago' ('flows into the ocean twelve miles from the city').[41]

Viewed as a whole, then, we see William in this passage using Hegesippus in a manner akin to that of Alfred of Beverley and Geoffrey of Monmouth. That is, at a point where his history overlaps with that of Hegesippus (in this case in dealing with the city of Antioch), William borrows from his predecessor, while recasting the material to suit the requirements of his own narrative. All the same, it is evident from William's handling of Hegesippus that he viewed him not only as a historical source, but also as an important stylistic model. His reference to the 'Ambrosiana in

37 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, Oxford 1998–9.

38 Ibid. I, iv.358, pp. 630–1.

39 Ibid. iv.359, pp. 630–3. On the role of such descriptions in William's *History*, see Aryeh Graboïs, 'The Description of Jerusalem by William of Malmesbury: A Mirror of the Holy Land's Presence in the Anglo-Norman Mind', *ANS* 13, 1991 for 1990, 145–56.

40 Hegesippus, iii.5.2, p. 193.

41 Much of William's supplemental information is drawn from a similar passage in one of his prime sources for the Crusade, Fulcher of Chartres (*Historia Iherosolymitana*, i.15); Fulcher was, however, apparently ignorant of Hegesippus, so that William's explicit reference to, and use of, the latter's work constitutes a covert criticism of his predecessor.

Egesippo facundia' (above) is important in this respect not simply because it shows that William was apparently among those who believed the translation to be the work of St Ambrose of Milan, but also because it makes it clear that he regarded its style as highly as he did St Ambrose's. The rhetorical ploy of stating his reluctance to vie with a prestigious authority, only to proceed to do just that, is therefore part and parcel of William's own attempt to stake a claim as a Latin stylist. Once we realize that this is so, we are brought back to the second of our initial questions. Is the Antioch passage an isolated case, or does William, as we might expect, take Hegesippus as a literary model elsewhere?

In the original draft of this paper, composed some time ago, I listed a substantial number of passages in which William borrowed striking phrases, imagery, and vocabulary from Hegesippus. Since, however, the majority of these borrowings have now also been noted, with acknowledgement, by Winterbottom and Thomson in their recent editions of the *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum*, I can restrict myself here to a representative example, omitted by them. In *Gesta Pontificum* i.23.5, Malmesbury remarks on the consternation caused by William the Conqueror's warlike reputation before his arrival in London:

> Qui cum et belli Hastingensis uictoria, et castelli Dofrensis deditione, *terrorem sui nominis sparsisset*, Lundoniam uenit.
>
> He spread the terror of his name far and wide by winning the battle of Hastings and receiving the surrender of Dover castle, and then came to London.[42]

The same striking expression (the metaphor is bolder in Latin than in English) was also used to describe the fearsome reputation acquired by the Roman general Gabinius in Hegesippus:

> nisi Gabinius … curatis strenue ceteris, quibus *terrorem nominis sui sparserat*, occurendum Alexandri temptamentis aestimauisset.
>
> Had not Gabinius reckoned on foiling Alexander's plans, after he had dealt energetically with other affairs and so spread the terror of his name far and wide.[43]

This passage, typical of the host of others cited by Winterbottom and Thomson, makes it clear that William knew Hegesippus well, had studied his diction, and often took him as a verbal model.[44] We can, therefore, turn our attention to the historiographical effect of some of these allusions. Let us begin with a passage in which Hegesippus relates how the Jewish leader Hyrcanus bought off his enemy Antiochus, who was besieging Jerusalem. To do this Hyrcanus had to rob the tomb of David, a transaction which Hegesippus dismisses with a cutting antithesis:

> *Reppulit* Hyrcanus auro *quem ferro* nequibat.
>
> Hyrcanus drove him away by gold, since steel could not do it.[45]

42 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, 2 vols, Oxford 2007, I, 46–9.

43 Hegesippus, i.19.1, p. 30.

44 To the parallels noted in *Gesta Pontificum* (II, 390), I would also add: i.54 (p. 156), '*matura reditum*' and Hegesippus, i.21.1 (p. 33), 'Gabinius *reditum maturauisset*'; i.54 (p. 158), '*ut inuidiam facti* aliquo *leuaret* solatio' and Hegesippus, i.1.8 (p. 7), 'atque *ut facti inuidiam leuaret*'; i.71 (p. 212), '*Hunc habuit finem* Radulfus' and Hegesippus, i.46.2 (p. 128), '*Hunc finem habuit* Herodes'; iii.107 (p. 362), 'pro *sermonum sobrietate*' and Hegesippus, prol. 1 (p. 3), '*sermonum sobrietati*' , with which cf. *Gesta Regum*, prol. 1 (p. 14) and i.57 (p. 86).

45 Hegesippus, i.1.8, p. 7.

Perhaps the most notorious case of such an exchange of blood-money in English history was King Æthelred's attempts to buy off the invading Danes. When William deals with this incident in the *Gesta Regum*, he describes it in similarly scathing terms:

> decretum a Siritio, archiepiscopo post Dunstanum secundo, ut *repellerentur* argento *qui* non poterant *ferro*.

> Sigeric therefore, the archbishop next but one after Dunstan, decided that they must be driven away by silver if steel could not do it.[46]

Since Æthelred's bribe is in silver rather than gold, the verbal parallels between the two passages are restricted to the verb *repello* and the noun *ferrum* used in its poetic sense of 'the sword'. Far more than the words themselves, however, it was Hegesippus' effective antithesis and disapproving tone that triggered William's imitation.

The sceptic might object that, despite William's evident admiration for Hegesippus, parallels such as these are too remote for us to be sure that they really constitute literary reminiscences. That, as I have tried to show, would be to underestimate the subtlety of William's habits of borrowing. Indeed, in the case of the Danegeld, a second, much closer verbal parallel proves beyond doubt that he was drawing on his predecessor. For in William's eyes, Æthelred's humiliation was a direct result of divine retribution, as he makes clear earlier in the same chapter of the *Gesta Regum*. Because of a quarrel with the bishop of Rochester, Æthelred had marched on that town. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, was forced to buy the king off, but prophesied that the king's greed would be punished by God's wrath, as it later was by the Danish incursions. What is interesting for our present purposes, however, is the way in which William describes Dunstan's bribing of the king:

> Uerborum nuditate contempta, adornat preceptum pecunia, et mittit centum libras *ut obsidionem* solueret, *pretio emptus abiret*.

> His bare words were met with scorn, so he gilded his instructions with money, and sent him a hundred pounds as the price of raising the siege, if he would take the money and go away.[47]

The expression *'pretio emptus abiret'*, particularly striking because of its hexameter rhythm, unquestionably recalls Hyrcanus' bribing of Antiochus in Hegesippus' *History*. If we return to the passage which relates that incident, we find that it continues:

> reseratoque, ut Iosephus auctor est, Dauid sepulchro tria millia auri talenta eruit, ex quibus trecenta adnumerauit Antiocho, *ut obsidionem* relinqueret, *pretio emptus abiret*.

> He opened David's tomb, as Josephus tells us, and removed three thousand talents of gold, three hundred of which he told off for Antiochus, as the price of raising the siege, if he would take the money and go away.[48]

Once both these allusions are recognized, it becomes clear that the use to which William put the entire passage of Hegesippus is highly allusive. Initially, when bribed by Dunstan to spare Rochester, the Englishman Æthelred is portrayed in

46 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii.165.2, pp. 270–1.
47 Ibid. ii.165.1, pp. 270–1; the same passage recurs verbatim in William's *Vita Dunstani*, ii.22, in William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, Oxford 2002, 166–303 at 274–5.
48 Hegesippus, i.1.8, p. 7.

the role of King Antiochus, an external invader who has to be bought off by an act of sacrilege, which thus indirectly reflects the injustice of the king's attack on his countrymen. Later, when Æthelred is himself constrained to pay the Danegeld in an effort to protect England, his actions are made to recall those of Hyrcanus, the Jewish ruler forced by his weakness to rob King David's tomb and buy Antiochus off. This inversion serves to underline the connection between the two acts of bribery in which Æthelred is involved, and it underscores the ironic role-reversal he endured. For the reader who recognizes the allusions to Hegesippus the message of William's narrative is thus rendered all the more effective. If Henry of Huntingdon can use Hegesippus to insinuate that Henry I represented another Herod, William can trump him with an Æthelred who is both Hegesippus' Antiochus and Hyrcanus, rolled into one.

This, however, by no means exhausts the passages in which William drew on Hegesippus' original antithesis, 'repulit Hyrcanus auro quem ferro nequibat'. We have already seen how he applied it to the paying off of the Danes in the *Gesta Regum*. When he again relates Æthelred's discomfiture in the *Gesta Pontificum*, he employs the same antithesis, but in an expanded and even more damning form:

> ut eorum pacem argento redimeret, quos ferro propellere posset nisi corde careret.
>
> he gave silver to buy peace from people he could have driven out with steel, if he had only had the courage.[49]

This time all that points us back to William's original Hegesippan borrowing is the fact that this more drastic revision appears in the same historical context as in the *Gesta Regum*, that of the Danegeld. Yet more striking is an entirely different reworking found in book three of the *Gesta Regum*. There the Byzantine Emperor Alexius is being hard pressed by the Norman Robert Guiscard. Since he cannot defeat him on the battlefield, Alexius engineers Robert's death by poison. Of this treachery William says epigrammatically:

> Sustulit imperator malefitio *quem* uirtute *nequibat*.
>
> But the emperor removed by deceit the man he could not beat in fair fight.[50]

In this case it is the balanced form of the original which William retains, although he alters its content practically beyond recognition: 'Repulit' has become 'Sustulit', and 'Hyrcanus' is replaced by 'imperator'; the antithesis is no longer between 'auro' and 'ferro', but 'maleficio' and 'uirtute'; only the words '*quem … nequibat*' are retained unchanged. The result is something new. Reminiscences of this kind therefore, and particularly the last, show us William as creative artist, absorbing his models, modifying their diction at will, and transforming them into something which bears the stamp of his own mind.

Let us close with a passage which shows the same process in operation, but in a rather different way. One of the rhetorical highpoints in the *Gesta Regum* is the speech delivered by Pope Urban II at Clermont in 1095 which set in motion the First Crusade.[51] William's version of this address is conceived as a tour de force which exhibits copious rhetorical figures and wordplay, as well as literary allusions to the Bible, Lucan, and Prudentius.[52] Towards the end of the speech, the pope urges his

49 Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, i.20.2, pp. 42–3.
50 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, iii.262.5, pp. 484–5.
51 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, iv.347–8, pp. 599–609.
52 See my 'Industriae Testimonium', 510–15. William's version of Urban's address is discussed in rela-

audience not to fear death, arguing that in life the soul is only weighed down by the body and that death is a welcome release, of which sleep is a foretaste:

> An nescitis quod uiuere hominibus est calamitas, mori felicitas? … Mors enim a cenulento carcere liberat animas, ad proprium locum pro meritis euolaturas. … Dum autem uinculis corporum irretiuntur, trahunt ab ipsis terrulenta contagia, et quod ueraciter quis dicat, mortuae sunt; nec enim luteum caelesti, diuinum mortali pulchre coheret. Plurimum quidem *potest* anima, etiam nunc corpore uincta; instrumentum enim suum *uiuificat*, latenter id mouens, et *ultra mortalem* naturam gestis producens. Ueruntamen cum, sarcina qua in terram trahitur absoluta, proprium locum receperit, beatam et undique liberam participat fortitudinem, quomodocumque diuinae naturae inuisibilitati communicans. Gemino ergo functa offitio, corpori uitam ministrat cum adest, causam uero mutationis cum recedit. Uidetis quam jocunde anima in dormienti corpore uigilet, et, a sensibus seducta, pro diuina cognatione multa futura prouideat. Cur ergo mortem timetis, qui somni requiem, quae instar mortis est, diligitis?

> Do you not know that for men to live is a calamity and to die is happiness? … Death frees our souls from their filthy prisons, that they may fly up to the place where they belong according to their deserts. … While they are bound fast in the meshes of the body, they draw the contagion of earth from those same bodies and (as a man might say with truth) are dead, for the earthly does not unite properly with the heavenly nor the divine with the mortal. There is indeed much that the soul can do even now, bound as it is by the body, for it gives life to the body that is its tool, moving it in some hidden way and by its activity drawing the body beyond the limits of mortal nature. But once it has been liberated from the burden that drags it down to earth and has been allotted to its proper place, it wins a share in a fortitude which is blessed and in all directions free, because somehow or other it is in touch with the invisible mystery of the divine nature. Thus it performs a double office: it provides the body with life while it is in the body, and a reason for change when it departs. You see how cheerfully the soul keeps watch in the sleeping body and, now separate from the senses, can, because of its kinship with the divine, foresee many things which will come to pass. Why then fear death, when you love the repose of sleep, which is death's image?[53]

An almost identical passage appears in one of the most memorable of Hegesippus' speeches, expressly positioned as a fitting rhetorical conclusion to his work.[54] It occurs when, after the sack of Jerusalem, the leader Eleazar seeks to persuade the survivors at Masada that suicide is preferable to surrender. Among the arguments he employs are the following:

> Ita mors innocentiae fuit et uitae aerumna. Ex illo in eandem sortem successimus, ut uiuere miserrimum fieret, mori beatum. Quid est enim uita nisi carcer animae quae intra hoc ergastulum clauditur et carnali adhaeret consortio? Cuius infirmitatibus quatitur, … nec se facile attollere potest humi nexa, concreta puluere, stricta uinculo, neruis inretita. Non mediocris tamen *potestas* ut corpus *uiuificet* atque infundat insensibili materiae sensus uigorem … atque *ultra mortalem* prouehat fragilitatem … Instar quoddam diuini muneris repraesentans, cum ingreditur uitam infundit, cum excedit corpore mortem operatur. … Ubi autem fuerit istius carnis absoluta uinculis, in illum purum et splendidum superiorem reuolat locum … Indicio nobis est quies, quantam

tion to those of other chroniclers by J .O. Ward, 'Some Principles of Rhetorical Historiography in the Twelfth Century', in *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*, ed. Ernst Breisach, Kalamazoo MI 1985, 103–65.

53 Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, iv.347.12–14, pp. 604–5.

54 He comments (Hegesippus, v.53, p. 408): 'Eleazarus … hunc sermonem adorsus est, quem nos quasi epilogum quendam claudendo operi deplorabilem more rhetorico non praetermisimus' ('Eleazer … embarked on the following speech, which I have included in my work to end it, as orators do, with a kind of mournful epilogue').

anima post obitum corporis resumat gratiam. Sopito enim corpore et quasi mortuis eius cupiditatibus atque uniuersis motibus cum sanctis saepius conuersamur … ut … appropinquemus et confabulemur deo, cognoscamus futura. Quod igitur dormientes somiamus, … hoc in morte ueritatis possessio est et libertatis gratia.

So death was harmless and life a burden. Since then we inherited the same lot, so that life was a curse and death a blessing. What is life except a prison for the soul, trapped within this prison-house and bound in partnership with the flesh? It is assailed by the weaknesses of the flesh, … and cannot easily rise up, bound as it is to the earth, choked with dust, shackled by a chain and entangled in sinews. Still, the soul can do something to give life to the body and imbue its unfeeling tissue with the power of sensation … and take it beyond mortal weakness … Like some gift from the gods, it infuses the body with life when it enters, and causes it to die when it leaves. … Once freed from the bonds of our flesh, it flies back to that pure and shining place above. Sleep can show us what grace the soul regains after the death of the body. While the body slumbers and its desires and all its motions are in effect dead, we often experience what is holy, approach God and speak with him, know the future. In sleep these are only dreams, in death they become our true possession and welcome freedom.[55]

Many of the ideas expressed by both authors are, of course, philosophical or rhetorical commonplaces which can easily be paralleled elsewhere.[56] Nevertheless, there is undoubtedly very considerable overlap between the two passages, although they develop their points in a somewhat different order and in different language. However, we have already observed the care with which William read Hegesippus, and how he frequently adopted his ideas while at the same time freely modifying the way in which they were expressed. At one point, moreover, there is an undeniable verbal parallel between the two passages. Compare William's observation that the soul, 'Plurimum … *potest* … instrumentum enim suum *uiuificat* … *ultra mortalem* naturam gestis producens'; and Hegesippus' similar statement of the soul's 'Non mediocris … *potestas* ut corpus *uiuificet* … atque *ultra mortalem* prouehat fragilitatem.' This is precisely the kind of free reworking which, as we have seen, characterizes many of William's literary borrowings. In addition to this verbal reminiscence, there is also the similarity of the contexts in which the two passages are found. Both occur in highly emotive speeches, although William's version once more imparts an ironic twist: whereas Eleazar is persuading his Jewish audience to a despairing act of mass suicide after Jerusalem has been sacked, Pope Urban by contrast is encouraging the Crusaders to defy death in an expedition to recapture that same city from the infidels.[57] On balance, then, everything points to another case of direct literary imitation. William's admiration for Hegesippus as a stylist led him to model part of Urban's address on that of Eleazar, in, it must be added, a much more independent manner than that of Henry of Huntingdon, who took over parts of Titus' speech almost verbatim from the same author.

55 Hegesippus, v.53.1, pp. 409–10.

56 See Ussani's apparatus; a particularly important antecedent is Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (*De Republica*, vi.14): 'Immo uero, inquit, hi uiuunt qui e corporum uinculis tamquam e carcere euolauerunt, uestra uera quae dicitur uita mors est' ('"Yes indeed," he said, "it is these who are alive, having flown out from the bonds of the body, as if from a prison; and that which you call your life, is really death"'), a passage which is quoted in Henry of Huntingdon's letter *De Contemptu Mundi*, §17 (Huntingdon, pp. 614–15), 'Nostra namque, *que dicitur, uita,* ut Tullius ait*, mors est*' ('For, as Cicero says, what is called life is death').

57 Similar irony is implicit in many of William's borrowings from Lucan in the same speech; see 'Industriae testimonium'.

Having completed our survey of these four Anglo-Norman historians, some concluding remarks are in order. First, it must be stressed that the borrowings discussed above, which were noted in the course of general reading, should be viewed as no more than representative. Doubtless many further reminiscences will be unearthed with the advent of computer-generated concordances to the texts concerned. A general picture does nevertheless emerge.

Hegesippus was, it seems, widely available and attentively studied in Anglo-Norman England.[58] As we might expect, he was esteemed as a historical source, whose pronouncements enjoyed classical *auctoritas*, although they could also be moulded to new ends. His work was quarried for relevant material by Alfred of Beverley, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and William of Malmesbury, although in different ways. Alfred simply incorporated into his prologue a passage about the Roman invasions of Britain from one of Hegesippus' speeches. Geoffrey, who may have supplied the inspiration for Alfred's borrowing, echoed phrases from the selfsame passage at the appropriate historical point in his narrative; but he recast them in characteristic manner, inverting their meaning and placing them in a fictitious letter which mischievously subverts Hegesippus' emotional speech. William of Malmesbury respectfully cited Hegesippus' description of Antioch as part of his account of the First Crusade. Yet when he described the city himself, he clearly vied with his predecessor.

Indeed, it is noteworthy that the Hegesippan passages involved in these acts of borrowing are both set pieces, a speech and an ekphrasis, since this underscores Hegesippus' further appeal for the Anglo-Norman historians, as a rhetorical and stylistic model. This was certainly his chief impact on Henry of Huntingdon, who opened the last book of his *History* with a deliberate imitation of Hegesippus and later derived a speech in large part from him. Henry borrowed almost verbatim, clothing his narrative in the garb of the past, but in such a way as to add a further level of meaning should his imitation be recognized. William of Malmesbury also employed Hegesippus in a similar way. The difference is that in the process William, as was his habit, thoroughly absorbed the Latinity as well as the content of his source. William aspired to win a reputation as a stylist as well as a historian. The role which Hegesippus played in shaping that style deserves to be more widely appreciated.

Finally, what emerges from this investigation in the broader perspective is an insight into how the Anglo-Norman historians were engaged in creative interreaction with Hegesippus. They were readers as much as authors. If we wish fully to understand them and their writings, we neglect their sources at our peril.

[58] It may be added that such evidence as can be gleaned from the Anglo-Norman historians' borrowings would point to their using largely unrelated manuscripts rather than one particular recension of the text.

CONTENTS OF VOLUMES 1–30

Volumes 1–11 were edited by R. Allen Brown; 12–16 by Marjorie Chibnall; 17–22 by Christopher Harper-Bill; 23–27 by John Gillingham; and 28–30 by C. P. Lewis.

An asterisk after a title from volume 13 onwards indicates the R. Allen Brown Memorial Lecture

Volume 4 (1981)
David Bates, The origins of the justiciarship
Guy Beresford, Goltho Manor, Lincolnshire: the buildings and their surrounding defences *c*. 850–1150
Pierre Bouet, La *felicitas* de Guillaume le Conquérant dans les *Gesta Guillelmi* de Guillaume de Poitiers
John Gillingham, The introduction of knight service into England
Antonia Gransden, Baldwin, abbot of Bury St Edmunds, 1065–1097
Paul Hyams, The common law and the French connection
Edmund King, John Horace Round and the *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*
G. A. Loud, The *Gens Normannorum*: myth or reality?
Janet L. Nelson, The rites of the Conqueror
Annie Renoux, Fouilles sur le site du château ducal de Fécamp (X^{e}–XII^{e} siècle): bilan provisoire
Alexander R. Rumble, The purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis

Volume 5 (1982)
Maylis Baylé, Interlace patterns in Norman Romanesque sculpture: regional groups and their historical background
Matthew Bennett, Poetry as history? The *Roman de Rou* of Wace as a source for the Norman Conquest
David Bernstein, The blinding of Harold and the meaning of the Bayeux Tapestry
Marjorie Chibnall, Military service in Normandy before 1066
Krijnie Ciggaar, England and Byzantium on the eve of the Norman Conquest (the reign of Edward the Confessor)
Joseph Decaëns, La Datation de l'abbatiale de Bernay: quelques observations architecturales et résultats des fouilles récentes
Richard Gem, The early Romanesque tower of Sompting church, Sussex
Judith Green, The sheriffs of William the Conqueror
Frederick Hockey, The house of Redvers and its monastic foundations
R. C. Johnston, On scanning Anglo-Norman verse
Laurence Keen, The Umfravilles, the castle and the barony of Prudhoe, Northumberland
The late R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, The *Chronicon ex Chronicis* of 'Florence' of Worcester and its use of sources for English history before 1066
Christine Mahany and David Roffe, Stamford: the development of an Anglo-Scandinavian borough
David Walker, Crown and episcopacy under the Normans and Angevins

Volume 6 (1983)
Jim Bradbury, Battles in England and Normandy, 1066–1154
Charles Coulson, Fortress-policy in Capetian tradition and Angevin practice: aspects of the conquest of Normandy by Philip II
Raymonde Foreville, La Crise de l'ordre de Sempringham au XII^{e} siècle: nouvelle approche du dossier des frères lais
Walter Fröhlich, The letters omitted from Anselm's collection of letters
C. Warren Hollister, War and diplomacy in the Anglo-Norman world: the reign of Henry I
J. C. Holt, The introduction of knight service in England
Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, Scandinavian influence in Norman literature of the eleventh century
Gerda C. Huisman, Notes on the manuscript tradition of Dudo of St Quentin's *Gesta Normannorum*
Arnold William Klukas, The architectural implications of the *Decreta Lanfranci*
Pier Andrea Maccarini, William the Conqueror and the Church of Rome (from the Epistolae)
Dorothy Owen, The Norman cathedral at Lincoln
David Park, The 'Lewes group' of wall paintings in Sussex

Volume 10 (1987)
Maylis Baylé, Les Ateliers de sculpture de Saint-Étienne de Caen au XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles
Michel de Boüard, Y a-t-il eu, au XVI^{e} siècle, un projet de béatification de Guillaume le Conquérant?
Marjorie Chibnall, The Empress Matilda and Bec-Hellouin
H. E. J. Cowdrey, Towards an interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry
R. H. C. Davis, The warhorses of the Normans
Joseph Decaëns, Les Origines du village et du château de Saint-Vaast-sur-Seulles (Calvados)
Walter Fröhlich, St Anselm's special relationship with William the Conqueror
Lindy Grant, The architecture of the early Savignacs and Cistercians in Normandy
C. Warren Hollister, St Anselm on lay investiture
Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, The Ship List of William the Conqueror
Simon Keynes, Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)
H. R. Loyn, William's bishops: some further thoughts
Ian Peirce, Arms, armour and warfare in the eleventh century
Sally N. Vaughn, Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*: a reinterpretation

Volume 11 (1988)
Freda Anderson, St Pancras priory, Lewes: its architectural development to 1200
Matthew Bennett, Wace and warfare
Caroline Brett, John Leland and the Anglo-Norman historian
Joan Counihan, The growth of castle studies in England and on the Continent since 1850
Carroll Gillmor, The logistics of fortified bridge building on the Seine under Charles the Bald
Brian Dearden, Charles the Bald's fortified bridge at Pîtres (Seine): recent archaeological investigations
Christopher Harper-Bill, The struggle for benefices in twelfth-century East Anglia
Laurence Keen, Coastal salt production in Norman England
K. L. Maund, The Welsh alliances of Earl Ælfgar of Mercia and his family in the mid-eleventh century
John S. Moore, Domesday slavery
J. Neumann, Hydrographic and ship-hydrodynamic aspects of the Norman invasion, AD 1066
Marylou Ruud, Monks in the world: the case of Gundulf of Rochester
Jennifer C. Ward, Royal service and reward: the Clare family and the Crown, 1066–1154
Ann Williams, A vice-comital family in pre-Conquest Warwickshire

Volume 12 (1989)
Christopher Holdsworth, R. Allen Brown
Shirley Ann Brown, The Bayeux Tapestry: why Eustace, Odo and William?
Kathleen Cooke, Donors and daughters: Shaftesbury abbey's benefactors, endowments and nuns *c*. 1086–1130
M. J. Franklin, The bishops of Winchester and the monastic revolution
John Hudson, Life-grants of land and the development of inheritance in Anglo-Norman England
Lois L. Huneycutt, The idea of the perfect princess: the *Life of St Margaret* in the reign of Matilda II (1100–1118)
T. E. McNeill, The great towers of early Irish castles
Richard Mortimer, The charters of Henry II: what are the criteria for authenticity?
Cassandra Potts, Normandy or Brittany? A conflict of interests at Mont Saint Michel (966–1035)
David Roffe, From thegnage to barony: sake and soke, title, and tenants-in-chief
Matthew Strickland, Securing the North: invasion and the strategy of defence in twelfth-century Anglo-Scottish warfare
H. B. Teunis, Benoit of St Maure and William the Conqueror's *amor*

Pamela Tudor-Craig, Controversial sculptures: the Southwell tympanum, the Glastonbury respond, the Leigh Christ
Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, Historiography and hagiography at Saint-Wandrille: the *Inventio et Miracula Sancti Vulfranni*

Volume 13 (1990)
Eleanor Searle, *Inter amicos*: the abbey, town and early charters of Battle*
Lynn K. Barker, Ivo of Chartres and the Anglo-Norman cultural tradition
Maylis Baylé, Réminiscences anglo-scandinaves dans la sculpture romane de Normandie
Mark Blackburn, Coinage and currency under Henry I: a review
Donald F. Fleming, Landholding by *milites* in Domesday Book: a revision
John Gillingham, The context and purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*
Brian Golding, Robert of Mortain
Aryeh Graboïs, The description of Jerusalem by William of Malmesbury: a mirror of the Holy Land's presence in the Anglo-Norman mind
K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, William I and the Breton contingent in the non-Norman Conquest 1060–1087
Simon Keynes, The æthelings in Normandy
C. P. Lewis, The early earls of Norman England
Karl Leyser, The Anglo-Norman succession 1120–1125
J. F. A. Mason, Barons and their officials in the later eleventh century
Kathleen Thompson, Robert of Bellême reconsidered

Volume 14 (1991)
Arnold Taylor, *Belrem**
G. W. S. Barrow, The charters of David I
Paul Dalton, *In neutro latere*: the armed neutrality of Ranulf II earl of Chester in King Stephen's reign
Bernard Gauthiez, Hypothèses sur la fortification de Rouen au onzième siècle: le donjon, la tour de Richard II et l'enceinte de Guillaume
James Graham-Campbell, Anglo-Scandinavian equestrian equipment in eleventh-century England
Judith Green, Financing Stephen's war
Edmund King, Dispute settlement in Anglo-Norman England
Kimberly A. LoPrete, Adela of Blois and Ivo of Chartres: piety, politics, and the Peace in the diocese of Chartres
John S. Moore, The Anglo-Norman family: size and structure
Robert B. Patterson, The author of the Margam Annals: early thirteenth-century Margam abbey's compleat scribe
Susan Reynolds, Bookland, folkland and fiefs
Ian Short, Patrons and polyglots: French literature in twelfth-century England
Heather J. Tanner, The expansion of the power and influence of the counts of Boulogne under Eustace II
Pamela Taylor, The endowment and military obligations of the see of London: a reassessment of three sources
H. Tsurushima, The fraternity of Rochester cathedral priory about 1100

Volume 15 (1992)
J. J. G. Alexander, Ideological representation of military combat in Anglo-Norman art
George T. Beech, A Norman-Italian adventurer in the East: Richard of Salerno 1097–1112
Matthew Bennett, Norman naval activity in the Mediterranean *c*. 1060–*c*. 1108
Armando Bisanti, Mimo Giullaresco e satira del villano nel *De Clericis et Rustico*
H. E. J. Cowdrey, Simon Magus in south Italy
Vincenzo d'Alessandro, Nobiltà e parentela nell'Italia normanna

Walter Fröhlich, The marriage of Henry VI and Constance of Sicily: prelude and consequences
Philip Grierson, The coinages of Norman Apulia and Sicily in their international setting
Jeremy Johns, The Norman kings of Sicily and the Fatimid caliphate
Patrizia Lendinara, The *Oratio de utensilibus ad domum regendum pertinentibus* by Adam of Balsham
G. A. Loud, The genesis and context of the Chronicle of Falco of Benevento
Jane Martindale, The sword on the stone: some resonances of a medieval symbol of power (the tomb of King John in Worcester cathedral)
Lucio Melazzo, The Normans through their languages
Ian Peirce, The knight, his arms and armour *c*. 1150–1250
Jonathan Shepard, The uses of the Franks in eleventh-century Byzantium
Livia Varga, A new aspect of the porphyry tombs of Roger II, first king of Sicily, in Cefalù

Volume 16 (1993)
W. M. Aird, St Cuthbert, the Scots and the Normans
Robert S. Babcock, Rhys ap Tewdwr, king of Deheubarth
Paul Brand, ‘Time out of mind’: the knowledge and use of the eleventh- and twelfth-century past in thirteenth-century litigation
Shirley Ann Brown and Michael W. Herren, The *Adelae Comitissae* of Baudri of Bourgueil and the Bayeux Tapestry
Edoardo d’Angelo, Giuseppe Del Re’s ‘critical’ edition of Falco of Benevento’s Chronicle
David N. Dumville, Anglo-Saxon books: treasure in Norman hands?
Jean Dunbabin, Geoffrey of Chaumont, Thibaud of Blois and William the Conqueror
Bernard Gauthiez, Paris, un Rouen capétien? (Développements comparés de Rouen et Paris sous les règnes de Henri II et Philippe-Auguste)
David Hiley, Changes in English chant repertories in the eleventh century as reflected in the Winchester sequences
B. R. Kemp, Towards admission and institution: English episcopal formulae for the appointment of parochial incumbents in the twelfth century
Derek Renn, Burhgeat and gonfanon: two sidelights from the Bayeux Tapestry
Mary Frances Smith, Archbishop Stigand and the eye of the needle
Benjamin Thompson, Free alms tenure in the twelfth century
Sally N. Vaughn, Anselm in Italy, 1097–1100
John Bryan Williams, Judhael of Totnes: the life and times of a post-Conquest baron

Volume 17 (1994)
Joseph Decaëns, R. Allen Brown: in memoriam
Joseph Decaëns, Les Châteaux de la vallée de l’Huisne dans le Perche*
Lesley Abrams, Eleventh-century missions and the early stages of ecclesiastical organisation in Scandinavia
R. E. Barton, Lordship in Maine: transformation, service and anger
Charles Coulson, The French matrix of the castle-provisions of the Chester-Leicester conventio
RaGena DeAragon, Dowager countesses, 1069–1230
Robin Fleming, Oral testimony and the Domesday Inquest
C. P. Lewis, The French in England before the Norman Conquest
François Neveux, La Ville de Sées du haut moyen âge à l’époque ducale
Janet M. Pope, Monks and nobles in the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform
D. J. Power, What did the frontier of Angevin Normandy comprise?
Valerie Ramseyer, Ecclesiastical reorganization in the principality of Salerno in the late Lombard and early Norman period
Andrew Wareham, The motives and politics of the Bigod family, *c*. 1066–1177
Patrick Wormald, Laga Eadwardi: the *Textus Roffensis* and its context

Volume 18 (1995)

D. E. Luscombe, Bec, Christ Church and the correspondence of St Anselm*

Robert Bearman, Baldwin de Redvers: some aspects of a baronial career in the reign of King Stephen

Emma Cownie, The Normans as patrons of English religious houses, 1066–1135

Peter Damian-Grint, Truth, trust, and evidence in the Anglo-Norman *estoire*

Joanna H. Drell, Family structure in the principality of Salerno during the Norman period, 1077–1154

Diana Greenway, Authority, convention and observation in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*

Vanessa King, Ealdred, archbishop of York: the Worcester years

Cassandra Potts, *Atque unum ex diversis gentibus populum effecit*: historical tradition and the Norman identity

Ian Short, *Tam Angli quam Franci*: self-definition in Anglo-Norman England

Kathleen Thompson, The lords of Laigle: ambition and insecurity on the borders of Normandy

H. Tsurushima, Domesday interpreters

Volume 19 (1996)

Christopher Holdsworth, Peacemaking in the twelfth century*

Richard Abels, Sheriffs, lord-seeking and the Norman settlement of the south-east Midlands

Lindy Grant, Suger and the Anglo-Norman world

D. M. Hadley, 'And they proceeded to plough and to support themselves': the Scandinavian settlement of England

Patricia A. Halpin, Anglo-Saxon women and pilgrimage

Cyril Hart, William Malet and his family

Elisabeth van Houts, The memory of 1066 in written and oral traditions

John Hudson, The abbey of Abingdon, its *Chronicle* and the Norman Conquest

Simon Keynes, Giso, bishop of Wells (1061–88)

G. A. Loud, A Lombard abbey in a Norman world: St Sophia, Benevento, 1050–1200

John S. Moore, 'Quot homines?' The population of Domesday England

Lisa Reilly, The emergence of Anglo-Norman architecture: Durham cathedral

Matthew Strickland, Military technology and conquest: the anomaly of Anglo-Saxon England

Ann Williams, The spoliation of Worcester

Volume 20 (1997)

Lesley Abrams, The conversion of the Scandinavians of Dublin

Marjorie Chibnall, 'Clio's legal cosmetics': law and custom in the work of medieval historians

S. D. Church, The 1210 campaign in Ireland: evidence for a military revolution?

Joan Counihan, Mrs Ella Armitage and Irish archaeology

Seán Duffy, Ireland's Hastings: the Anglo-Norman conquest of Dublin

Judith Everard, The 'justiciarship' in Brittany and Ireland under Henry II

Marie Therese Flanagan, Strategies of lordship in pre-Norman and post-Norman Leinster

Deborah Gerish, Ancestors and predecessors: royal continuity and identity in the first kingdom of Jerusalem

John Gillingham, The travels of Roger of Howden and his views of the Irish, Scots and Welsh

Pádraig Ó Néill, The impact of the Norman invasion on Irish literature

Mark Philpott, Some interactions between the English and Irish Churches

David S. Spear, Power, patronage, and personality in the Norman cathedral chapters, 911–1204

Yoko Wada, Gerald on Gerald: self-presentation by Giraldus Cambrensis

Christine Senecal, Keeping up with the Godwinesons: in pursuit of aristocratic status in late Anglo-Saxon England
Ian Short, The language of the Bayeux Tapestry inscription
Karine Ugé, The legend of Saint Rictrude: formation and transformations (tenth–twelfth century)
Björn Weiler, Kingship, usurpation and propaganda in twelfth-century Europe: the case of Stephen
David Wyatt, The significance of slavery: alternative approaches to Anglo-Saxon slavery

Volume 24 (2001)
Ann Williams, Thegnly piety and ecclesiastical patronage in the late Old English kingdom*
Martin Aurell, Révolte nobiliaire et lutte dynastique dans l'empire angevin (1154–1224)
Marie-Pierre Baudry, La Politique de fortification des Plantagenêts en Poitou, 1154–1242
Pierre Bauduin, Désigner les parents: le champs de la parenté dans l'œuvre des premiers chroniqueurs normands
Julia Boorman, *Nisi feceris* under Henry II
Natalie Fryde, Abelard and the Church's policy towards the Jews
Charles Insley, Where did all the charters go? Anglo-Saxon charters and the new politics of the eleventh century
Stephen Marritt, King Stephen and the bishops
Vincent Moss, The defence of Normandy 1193–8
Dominique Pitte, Château-Gaillard dans la défense de la Normandie orientale (1196–1204)
Richard Plant, English Romanesque and the Empire
Tim Tatton-Brown, The beginnings of Lambeth Palace
Pamela Taylor, Ingelric, Count Eustace and the foundation of St Martin-le-Grand
Malcolm Thurlby, Minor cruciform churches in Norman England and Wales

Volume 25 (2002)
David Bates, The Conqueror's adolescence*
Michael Angold, Knowledge of Byzantine history in the West: the Norman historians (eleventh and twelfth centuries)
G. W. S. Barrow, Companions of the atheling
Dauvit Broun, The absence of regnal years from the dating clause of charters of kings of Scots, 1195–1222
Julia Crick, St Albans, Westminster and some twelfth-century views of the Anglo-Saxon past
Richard Fawcett, The architectural context of the Border abbey churches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries
Michael H. Gelting, Predatory kinship revisited
John Hudson, Legal aspects of Scottish charter diplomatic in the twelfth century: a comparative approach
M. J. Kennedy, 'Faith in the one God flowed over you from the Jews, the sons of the patriarchs and the prophets': William of Newburgh's writings on anti-Jewish violence
Richard Mortimer, Anglo-Norman lay charters, 1066–*c.* 1100: a diplomatic approach
Bruce O'Brien, The *Instituta Cnuti* and the translation of English law
Daniel Power, The French interests of the Marshal earls of Striguil and Pembroke, 1189–1234
Nigel M. Webb, Settlement and integration: the establishment of an aristocracy in Scotland (1124–1214)

Volume 26 (2003)
Richard Barber, The Norman Conquest and the media*
Bernard S. Bachrach, Dudo of St Quentin and Norman military strategy *c.* 1000
Julia Barrow, Clergy in the diocese of Hereford in the eleventh and twelfth centuries
Clare Downham, England and the Irish-Sea zone in the eleventh century

Véronique Gazeau, Les Abbés bénédictines de la Normandie ducale
J. L. Grassi, The *Vita Ædwardi Regis*: the hagiographer as insider
Elisabeth van Houts, The Warenne view of the past, 1066–1203
Jennifer Paxton, Textual communities in the English Fenlands: a lay audience for monastic chronicles?
Richard Sharpe, 1088: William II and the rebels
Neil Strevett, The Anglo-Norman civil war of 1101 reconsidered
Neil Wright, Epic and romance in the chronicles of Anjou

Volume 27 (2004)
Emily Albu, Probing the passions of a Norman on Crusade: the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*
Julie Barrau, Gilbert Foliot et l'Écriture, un exégète en politique
Richard Barton, Writing warfare, lordship and history: the *Gesta Consulum Andegavorum*'s account of the battle of Alençon
J. E. M. Benham, Anglo-French peace conferences in the twelfth century
John D. Cotts, Peter of Blois and the problem of the 'court' in the late twelfth century
Ewan Johnson, Normandy and Norman identity in southern Italian chronicles
G. A. Loud, Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi
Lucy Marten, The impact of rebellion on Little Domesday
Mia Münster-Swendsen, Setting things straight: law, justice and ethics in the *Orationes* of Lawrence of Durham
Jörg Peltzer, The Angevin kings and canon law: episcopal elections and the loss of Normandy
Naomi Sykes, Zooarchaeology of the Norman Conquest
Hanna Vollrath, Was Thomas Becket chaste? Understanding episodes in the Becket Lives

Volume 28 (2005)
John S. Moore, Inside the Anglo-Norman family: love, marriage, and the family*
Stephen Baxter and John Blair, Land tenure and royal patronage in the early English kingdom: a model and a case study
Tracey-Anne Cooper, The homilies of a pragmatic archbishop's handbook in context: Cotton Tiberius A. iii
Hugh Doherty, Robert de Vaux and Roger de Stuteville, sheriffs of Cumberland and Northumberland, 1170–1185
Paul Everson and David Stocker, The common steeple? Church, liturgy, and settlement in early medieval Lincolnshire
Kirsten A. Fenton, The question of masculinity in William of Malmesbury's presentation of Wulfstan of Worcester
Vanessa King, Share and share alike? Bishops and their cathedral chapters: the Domesday evidence
Nicola Robertson, Dunstan and monastic reform: tenth-century fact or twelfth-century fiction?
David Roffe, Domesday now

Volume 29 (2006)
John Gillingham, 'Holding to the rules of war (*bellica iura tenentes*)': right conduct before, during, and after battle in north-western Europe in the eleventh century*
S. D. Church, Aspects of the English succession, 1066–1199: the death of the king
Mark Gardiner, The transformation of marshlands in Anglo-Norman England
Alban Gautier, Game parks in Sussex and the Godwinesons
Mark Hagger, The Norman *vicomte*, *c.* 1035–1135: what did he do?
Ryan Lavelle, The king's wife and family property strategies: late Anglo-Saxon Wessex, 871–1066
Michael John Lewis, Identity and status in the Bayeux Tapestry: the iconographic and artefactual evidence

Andrew G. Lowerre, Why here and not there? The location of early Norman castles in the south-eastern Midlands
Gale R. Owen-Crocker, The interpretation of gesture in the Bayeux Tapestry
Hugh M. Thomas, Lay piety in England from 1066 to 1215
Hirokazu Tsurushima, The eleventh century in England through fish-eyes: salmon, herring, oysters, and 1066
Andrew Wareham and Xiangdong Wei, Taxation and the economy in late eleventh-century England: reviving the Domesday regression debate

Volume 30 (2007)
Huw Pryce, The Normans in Welsh history*
Laura Ashe, William Marshal, Lancelot, and Arthur: chivalry and kingship
Julia Barrow, Grades of ordination and clerical careers, *c.* 900–*c.* 1200
Howard B. Clarke, Evesham J and Evesham L: two early twelfth-century manorial surveys
John Reuben Davies, Aspects of Church reform in Wales, *c.* 1093–*c.* 1223
Judith Everard, Lay charters and the *acta* of Henry II
Natasha Hodgson, Reinventing Normans as crusaders? Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*
Charles Insley, Kings, lords, charters, and the political culture of twelfth-century Wales
Robert Jones, Identifying the warrior on the pre-heraldic battlefield
Paul Oldfield, St Nicholas the Pilgrim and the city of Trani between Greeks and Normans, *c.* 1090–*c.* 1140
David Stephenson, The 'resurgence' of Powys in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries
Frederick Suppe, Interpreter families and Anglo-Welsh relations in the Shropshire-Powys marches in the twelfth century
Jeffrey West, A taste for the Antique? Henry of Blois and the arts